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THE

HISTORY

OF

MODERN EUROPE.

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF

THE DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE,

AND A VIEW OF

THE PROGRESS OF SOCIETY.

FROM THE

RISE of the MODERN KINGDOMS

TO THE

PEACE of PARIS, in 1763.

IN A

SERIES of LETTERS from a NOBLEMAN to his SON.

A NEW EDITION, enlarged and greatly improved.

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A

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THE

HISTORY

OF

MODERN EUROPE.

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A general View of the Affairs of EUROPE, *with a particular Account of thoſe of* ENGLAND, *from the Reſtoration of* CHARLES II. *in* 1660, *to the Triple Alliance, in* 1668.

LETTER XII. A. D. 1660.

NO prince ever had it more in his power to have rendered himſelf the favourite of his people, and his people great, flouriſhing, and happy, than Charles II. of England. They had generouſly reſtored him to the regal dignity, without impoſing any new limitations on his prerogative. But their late violences, and the torrent of blood which had been ſhed, too ſtrongly demonſtrated their dread of popery, and their hatred of arbitrary ſway, to permit a ſuppoſition, that they would ever tamely

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ſuffer any treſpaſs on their civil or religious liberties. If deſtitute of the ſenſe of juſtice or of gratitude, the imprudencies of his grandfather, the fatal cataſtrophe of his father, and ten years of excluſion, exile, and adverſity, were ſurely ſufficient to have taught him moderation; while the affectionate expreſſions of loyalty and attachment, which every where ſaluted his ears, demanded his moſt warm acknowledgments.

WITH loyalty, mirth and gaity returned. That gloom, which had ſo long overſpread the iſland, gradually diſappeared with thoſe fanatical opinions that produced it. And if the king had made a proper uſe of his political ſituation, and of thoſe natural and acquired talents, which he ſo abundantly poſſeſſed, he might have held, with a high hand, the balance of Europe, and at the ſame time have reſtored the Engliſh nation (to uſe the memorable words of my lord Clarendon) to its *primitive temper* and *integrity*; to "its "old good manners, its old good humour, and its "old good nature." But an infatuated deſire of governing without controul, and alſo of changing the religion of the two Britiſh kingdoms, accompanied with a waſteful prodigality, which nothing could ſupply, loſt him by degrees the hearts of his ſubjects, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſee, and inſtead of the arbiter of Europe, made him a penſioner of France.

CHARLES was thirty years of age, when he aſcended the throne of his anceſtors; and, conſidering his adverſe fortune, and the opportunities he had enjoyed of mingling with the world, might have been ſuppoſed to be paſt the levities of youth and the intemperance of appetite. But being endowed with a ſtrong conſtitution and a great flow of ſpirits, with a manly

manly figure and an engaging manner, animal love was ſtill his predominant paſſion, and amuſement his chief occupation. He was not, however, incapable of application to buſineſs, nor unacquainted with affairs either foreign or domeſtic; but having been accuſtomed, during his exile, to live among his courtiers as a companion rather than a monarch, he loved to indulge, even after his reſtoration in the pleaſures of diſengaged ſociety, as well as of unreſtrained gallantry, and hated every thing that interfered with thoſe favourite avocations. His example was contagious: a groſs ſenſuality infected the court; and prodigality, debauchery, and irreligion, became the characteriſtics of the younger and more faſhionable part of the nation [1]. LETTER XII. A. D. 1660

THE king himſelf, who appears to have been little under the influence of either moral or religious principles, conſcious of his own irregularities, could eaſily forgive the deviations of others, and admit an excuſe for any ſyſtem of opinions. Hence he gained the profligate by indulgence, at the ſame time that he choſe to flatter, by attentions, the pride of religion and virtue. This accommodating character, which through his whole reign was Charles's chief ſupport, at firſt raiſed the higheſt idea of his judgment and impartiality. Without regard to former diſtinctions, he admitted into his council the moſt eminent men of all parties; the Preſbyterians equally with the Royaliſts ſhared this honour. Nor was he leſs impartial in the diſtribution of honours. Admiral Montague was not only created earl of Sandwich, and Monk duke of Albemarle, promotions that might have been expected;

1. Burnet, vol. i. book ii.

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but Anneſley was created earl of Angleſey; Aſhley Cooper, lord Aſhley; and Denzil Hollis, lord Hollis.

WHATEVER might be the king's motive for ſuch a conduct, whether a deſire of laſting popularity, or merely of ſerving a temporary purpoſe, it muſt be allowed to have been truly political, as it contributed not only to baniſh the remembrance of paſt animoſities, but to attach the leaders of the Preſbyterians; who, beſides having a principal ſhare in the Reſtoration, were formidable by their numbers as well as by their property, and declared enemies to the Independents, and other republican ſectaries. But the choice which Charles made of his miniſters and principal ſervants more eſpecially prognoſticated future happineſs and tranquillity, and gave ſincere pleaſure to all the true friends of the conſtitution. Sir Edward Hyde, created earl of Clarendon, was made lord chancellor. He had been bred to the law, poſſeſſed great talents, was indefatigable in buſineſs, and very fit for the place of prime miniſter. The marquis, created duke of Ormond, leſs remarkable for his talents than his courtly accompliſhments, his honour and his fidelity, was conſtituted ſteward of the houſhold; the earl of Southampton, a man of abilities and integrity, was appointed lord treaſurer, and Sir Edward Nicholas and Mr. Morrice ſecretaries of ſtate. The ſecretaries were both men of learning and virtue, but little acquainted with foreign affairs [2].

THESE miniſters entered into a free and open correſpondence with the leading members of both houſes; in conſequence of which the *Convention* (as the aſſembly that accompliſhed the Reſtoration had been hitherto called, by being ſummoned without the king's au-

2. Burnet, vol. i. book ii.

thority) received the name of a parliament. All juridical decrees, paſſed during the commonwealth or protectorſhip, were affirmed; and an act of indemnity was paſſed, conformable to the king's declaration from Breda. In that declaration Charles had wiſely referred all exceptions to the parliament, which excluded ſuch as had any immediate hand in the late king's death. Only ſix of the regicides, however, with four others, who had been abettors of their treaſon, were executed. The reſt made their eſcape, were pardoned, or confined in different priſons. They all behaved with great firmneſs, and ſeemed to conſider themſelves as martyrs to their civil and religious principles [3].

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LAMBERT and Vane, though not immediately concerned in the late king's death, were alſo attainted. Lambert was pardoned, in conſequence of his ſubmiſſion; but Vane, on account of his preſumptuous behaviour during his trial, was executed [4]. The ſame lenity was extended to Scotland; where only the marquis of Argyle, and one Guthery, a ſeditious preacher, were executed. Argyle's caſe was thought peculiarly hard; but as Guthery had perſonally inſulted the king, as well as purſued a conduct ſubverſive of all legal authority, his fate was lamented only by the wildeſt fanatics [5].

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe expiatory ſacrifices, Charles's government was, for a time, remarkably mild and equitable. The firſt meaſure that excited any alarm was the act of uniformity.

HAD the convention-parliament, from a jealouſy of royal power, exacted any conditions from the king,

3. *State Trials*, vol. ii. 4. Id. ibid. 5. Burnet, ubi ſup.

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on his reſtoration, the eſtabliſhment of the Preſbyterian diſcipline would certainly have been one of them; not only becauſe more favourable to civil liberty than epiſcopacy, in the opinion of the people, but more conformable to the theological ideas of the greater number of the members. No ſuch ſtipulation, however, having been required, the church of England had good reaſon to expect that the hierarchy would recover its ancient rights, and again appear with undiminiſhed ſplendour, as well as the monarchy. Charles, to whom the buſineſs of religion was wholly left, though inclined to revive epiſcopacy, was at a loſs how to proceed. The Preſbyterians, from their recent ſervices, had claims upon his gratitude, and the epiſcopal clergy from their loyalty and former ſufferings, in conſequence of their attachment to the royal cauſe. As he wiſhed to gain all parties, by diſobliging none, he conducted himſelf with great moderation. At the ſame time that he reſtored the ejected clergy, and ordered the Liturgy to be received into the churches, he iſſued a declaration, in which he promiſed, That the biſhops ſhould all be regular and conſtant preachers; that they ſhould not confer ordination, or exerciſe any juriſdiction, without the advice and aſſiſtance of Preſbyters, choſen by the dioceſe; that ſuch alterations ſhould be made in the Liturgy as would render it totally unexceptionable; and that, in the meantime, the epiſcopal mode of worſhip ſhould not be impoſed on thoſe who were unwilling to receive it[6].

Dec. 29.

SUCH was the ſtate of the church at the diſſolution of the convention-parliament; which, while it guarded the legal rights of the crown, lately ſo violently in-

6, *Parl. Hiſt.* vol. xxiii.

vaded,

vaded, never loſt ſight of the liberty of the ſubject, but maintained the happy medium between high prerogative and licentious freedom. The new parliament was of a very different complexion. The royaliſts, ſeconded by the influence of the crown, had prevailed in moſt elections. Not above ſeventy members of the Preſbyterian party obtained ſeats in the houſe of commons; and theſe not being able either to oppoſe or retard the meaſures of the court, monarchy and epiſcopacy were now as much exalted as they had formerly been depreſſed.

LETTER XII.

A. D. 1661. May 8.

An act was immediately paſſed for the ſecurity of the king's perſon and government, containing many ſevere clauſes; and as the biſhops, though reſtored to their ſpiritual authority, were ſtill excluded from parliament, in conſequence of a law paſſed by Charles I. immediately before the civil wars, that act was now repealed, and they were permitted to reſume their ſeats in the houſe of lords. But what moſt remarkably manifeſted the zeal of the parliament for the church and monarchy was the Act of Uniformity, and the repeal of the Triennial Act. Inſtead of the exact ſtipulations of the latter, a general clauſe provided, that parliaments ſhould not be interrupted above three years at moſt. By the Act of Uniformity it was required, that every clergyman, capable of holding a benefice, ſhould poſſeſs epiſcopal ordination; ſhould declare his aſſent to every thing contained in the Book of Common-Prayer; ſhould take the oath of canonical obedience, abjure the Solemn League and Covenant, and renounce the principle of taking arms againſt the king, on any pretence whatſoever [7].

7. Id. Ibid.

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THUS was the church reinſtated in her former power and ſplendour; and as the old perſecuting laws ſubſiſted in their full rigour, and even new clauſes of a like nature were now enacted, all the king's promiſes of toleration and indulgence to tender conſciences, in his declaration from Breda, were thereby eluded and broken. The more zealous of the Preſbyterian clergymen, however, reſolved to refuſe the ſubſcription, be the conſequences what they might; though there is no doubt but they flattered themſelves, that the biſhops would not dare to expel ſo great a number of the moſt popular preachers in the kingdom. But in this hope they were deceived. The church, anticipating the pleaſure of retaliation, had made the terms of ſubſcription rigid, on purpoſe to diſguſt all the ſcrupulous Preſbyterians, and deprive them of their livings [8]; and the court beheld, with equal ſatisfaction and aſtoniſhment, two thouſand of the clergy, in one day, relinquiſh their cures, and ſacrifice their intereſt to their religious opinions.

THIS meaſure, which united the Proteſtant diſſenters in a common hatred of the church, and rouſed in the church a ſpirit of intolerance and perſecution, was peculiarly impolitic and imprudent, as well as violent and unjuſt; more eſpecially as the opportunity ſeemed fair for taking advantage of the reſentments of the Preſbyterians againſt the republican ſectaries, and to draw them, without perſecuting the others, by the cords of love into the pale of the church, inſtead of driving them back by ſevere uſage into their ancient confederacies. A ſmall relaxation in the terms of communion would certainly have been ſufficient for that purpoſe. But

8. Burnet, vol. i. book ii.

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the royal family and the Catholics, whoſe influence was great at court, had other views, with which the nation was then unacquainted, and which it muſt now our buſineſs to unfold. LETTER XII. A. D. 1662.

CHARLES, during his exile, had not only imbibed ſtrong prejudices in favour of the Catholic religion, but had even been ſecretly reconciled in form to the church of Rome[9]. His brother, the duke of York, however was a more ſincere convert. James had zealouſly adopted all the abſurd and pernicious principles of popery; and as he had acquired a great aſcendant over the king, by his talent for buſineſs, the ſeverities in the Act of Uniformity had been chiefly ſuggeſted by him and the earl of Briſtol, alſo a zealous Catholic and a favourite at court. Senſible that undiſguiſed popery could claim no legal indulgence, they inflamed the church-party againſt the Preſbyterians: they encouraged the Preſbyterians to ſtand out; and when, in conſequence of theſe artifices, they ſaw ſo numerous and popular a body of the clergy ejected, they formed the plan of a general toleration, in hopes that the hated ſect of the Catholics, might paſs unobſerved in the crowd, and enjoy the ſame liberty with the reſt.

THE king, who had this meaſure more at heart than could have been expected from his ſeeming indifference to all religions, accordingly iſſued a declaration, under pretence of mitigating the rigours contained in the Act of Uniformity. After mentioning the promiſes of liberty of conſcience contained in his declaration from Breda, he added, That although, in the firſt place, he had been zealous to ſettle the

9. Burnet, book i.

uniformity

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uniformity of the church of England, which he ſhould ever maintain; yet in regard to the penalties upon thoſe who do not conform thereunto, through ſcruple of conſcience, but modeſtly and without ſcandal perform their devotions in their own way, he ſhould make it his ſpecial care, ſo far as in him lay, without invading the freedom of parliament, to incline the members to concur with him in framing ſuch an act for that purpoſe, as might enable him to exerciſe with more univerſal ſatisfaction that diſpenſing power, which he conceived to be inherent in him [10]. The parliament however, alarmed at the idea of a *diſpenſing power* in the crown, and having a glimpſe of the object for which it was to be exerciſed, came to a reſolution, That the indulgence propoſed would prove moſt pernicious both to church and ſtate; would open a door to ſchiſm, encourage faction, diſturb the public peace, and diſcredit the wiſdom of the legiſlature [11]. And the court, having already gained ſo many points, judged it neceſſary to lay aſide for a time the project of toleration. In the mean time the ejected clergymen were proſecuted with unrelenting rigour; ſevere laws being enacted, not only againſt conventicles, but againſt any non-conforming teacher coming within five miles of a corporation.

THE Preſbyterians in Scotland did not experience more favour than thoſe in England. As Charles had made them no promiſes before his reſtoration, he reſolved to purſue the abſurd policy of his father and grandfather, of eſtabliſhing epiſcopacy in that kingdom. In this reſolution he was confirmed by his antipathy againſt the Scottiſh eccleſiaſtics, on account of the inſults which he had received while

10. Kennet's *Regiſter*, p. 850. 11. *Parl. Hiſt.* vol. xxiii.

amongſt

amongſt them. He therefore replied to the earl of Lauderdale, with more pertneſs than judgment, when preſſed to eſtabliſh preſbytery, that, "it was not a religion for a gentleman!" and he could not agree to its farther continuance in Scotland[12]. Such a reaſon might have ſuited a fop in his dreſſing-room, or a jolly companion over his bottle, but was very unworthy of the head of a great monarchy. The conſequences were ſuch as might have been foreſeen. A vaſt majority of the Scottiſh nation looked up with horror to the king and his miniſters, and expoſed themſelves to the moſt ſevere perſecutions rather than relinquiſh their form of worſhip[13]. LETTER XII. A. D. 1662.

CERTAIN political meaſures conſpired with thoſe of religion to diminiſh that popularity which the king had enjoyed at his reſtoration. His marriage with Catherine of Portugal, to which he was chiefly prompted by the largeneſs of her portion[14], was by no means agreeable to his ſubjects, who were deſirous, above all things, of his marrying a proteſtant princeſs. The ſale of Dunkirk to France, in order to ſupply his prodigality, occaſioned univerſal diſguſt[15]; and the Dutch war, in which he is ſaid to have engaged with view of diverting part of the parliamen-

12. Burnet, vol. i. book ii. 13. Id. ibid.

14. He received with her five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, the ſettlement of Bombay in the Eaſt Indies, and the fortreſs of Tangier on the coaſt of Africa.

15. The ſale of Dunkirk, though ſtigmatized as one of the worſt meaſures of Charles's reign, was more blameable as a mark of meanneſs in the king, than on account of its detriment to the nation. The charge of maintaining that fortreſs was very great, and the benefit ariſing from it ſmall. It had then no harbour to receive veſſels of burden; and Lewis XIV. who was a judge of ſuch acquiſitions, and who firſt made it a good ſea-port, thought he had made a hard bargain, when he paid four hundred thouſand pounds for it. *D' Eſtrades' Letters.*

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12 PART II. A. D. 1662.

tary aids to the ſupply of his own profuſions, contributed ſtill farther to increaſe the public diſſatisfaction. The particulars of that war it muſt now be our buſineſs to relate.

THE reaſons aſſigned for commencing hoſtilities againſt the United Provinces were, the depredations committed by the ſubjects of that republic upon the Engliſh traders in different parts of the world. But, unfortunately for Charles, theſe depredations, though ſufficient to call up the keeneſt reſentment, had all preceded the year 1662, when a treaty of league and alliance had been renewed between England and the States. This circumſtance, however, was overlooked in the general jealouſy of the Hollanders; who, by their perſevering induſtry, as well as by other means, had of late greatly hurt the foreign trade of the Engliſh merchants. The king was reſolved on a war, from which, in conſequence of his ſuperior naval force, he hoped to derive vaſt advantages; and being warmly ſeconded in his views by the city and parliament, ſir Robert Holmes was ſecretly diſpatched with a ſquadron to the coaſt of Africa; where he not only expelled the Dutch from Cape Corſe, to which the Engliſh had ſome pretenſions, but ſeized their ſettlements of Cape Verde and the iſle of Goree, together with ſeveral trading veſſels. Another ſquadron ſailed ſoon after to North America, with three hundred men on board, under the command of ſir Richard Nicholas, who took poſſeſſion of the Dutch ſettlement of Nova Belgia, afterward called New York, in honour of the duke, who had obtained a grant of it from his brother 16.

A. D. 1663.

A. D. 1664.

16. *King James's Memoirs.* This territory, as lying within the line of the Engliſh diſcoveries, had been formerly granted by James I. to the earl of Sterling; but it had never been planted, except by the Dutch.

SINCE

LETTER XII.

A.D. 1664.

SINCE the death of William II. prince of Orange, who attempted, as we have already ſeen, to encroach on the liberties of the republic of Holland, the Dutch, conformable to their perpetual edict, had elected no ſtadtholder. The government had continued wholly in the hands of the Louveſtein, or violent republican party, who were declared enemies againſt the houſe of Orange. This ſtate of the affairs of the United Provinces could not be very agreeable to the king of England, who muſt naturally deſire to ſee his nephew, William III. reinſtated in that authority poſſeſſed by his anceſtors. He is even ſuſpected of a deſign, in conjunction with his brother, of rendering the young prince abſolute, and bringing the States to a dependence on England. It is at leaſt certain, that the famous John de Wit, penſionary of Holland, who was the ſoul of the republican party, and veſted with almoſt dictatorial powers, afraid of ſome ſuch deſign, had, ſoon after the Reſtoration, entered into cloſe alliance with France [17]. This has ſince been thought bad policy: and it muſt be owned, that de Wit's antipathy againſt the family of Orange led him into meaſures not always advantageous to his country; but it ought at the ſame time to be remembered, that neither the genius of Lewis XIV. nor the reſources of the French monarchy were then know.

DE WIT, equally diſtinguiſhed by his magnanimity, ability, and integrity; and who knew how to blend the moderate deportment of the private citizen with the dignity of the miniſter of ſtate—de Wit, who had laid it down, as a maxim, that no independent ſtate ought ever tamely to ſuffer any breach of equity from another, whatever their diſparity in force, when

17. Baſnage. Temple. Burnet.

informed

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informed of the hoſtilities of England, did not heſitate a moment how to act. He immediately ſent orders to de Ruyter, who was cruiſing with a fleet in the Mediterranean, for the purpoſe of chaſtiſing the piratical ſtates of Barbary, to ſail toward the coaſt of Guinea, and put the Hollanders again in poſſeſſion of thoſe ſettlement's from which they had been violently expelled. The Dutch admiral, who had a conſiderable body of land forces on board, recovered all the conqueſts of the Engliſh on the coaſt of Africa, except Cape Corſe-caſtle. He even diſpoſſeſſed them of ſome of their old ſettlements; and ſailing for America, he inſulted Barbadoes, committed hoſtilities on Long Iſland, and took a conſiderable number of ſhips [18].

A.D. 1665.

A DECLARATION of war was the conſequence of theſe mutual hoſtilities, and both ſides prepared for the moſt vigorous exertions of their naval ſtrength. By the prudent management of de Wit, a ſpirit of union was preſerved among the States; great ſums were levied; and a navy, compoſed of larger ſhips than the Dutch had ever before ſent to ſea, was ſpeedily equipped. Charles, who was perfectly acquainted with naval architecture, went himſelf from port to port, inſpecting the dock-yards, and haſtening the preparations. Sailors flocked from all quarters; and James duke of York, the king's brother, who had been originally deſigned for the head of the navy, and was now lord-high admiral of England, put to ſea with a fleet of an hundred ſail, beſides fire-ſhips and bomb-ketches, and ſtood for the coaſt of Holland. Prince Rupert and the earl of Sandwich commanded under him. The Dutch fleet, of at leaſt equal force, was commanded by admiral Opdam, in conjunction with

18. Ibid.

Evertſon

Evertſon and young Tromp, ſon to the famous admiral of that name, killed in the former war. They declined not the combat. The ſea was ſmooth, and not a cloud to be ſeen in the ſky. The duke of York, in the Royal Charles, bore down upon Opdam, and a furious battle began. The conteſt was continued for four hours with great obſtinacy: at length Opdam's ſhip blew up; and the Dutch, diſcouraged by the awful fate of their admiral and his gallant crew, fled toward the Texel [19]. They loſt near thirty ſhips, and their whole fleet might have been ſunk or taken, had the Engliſh made a proper uſe of their victory. But unfortunately about midnight, orders were given to ſhorten ſail [20]; ſo that, at morning, no hopes of overtaking the enemy remained. And thus was neglected an opportunity of deſtroying the naval force of the Dutch, which never returned in this, or in any ſucceeding war. The Engliſh loſt only one ſhip.

LETTER XII. A. D. 1665. June 3.

THE joy ariſing from the duke of York's naval victory, ſo highly extolled by the adherents of the court, was much diminiſhed by the breaking out of

19. *King James's Memoirs.*

20. Theſe orders were given by one Bronker, a gentleman of the duke's bedchamber, while his maſter was aſleep, and without his authority, if we believe the royal memorialiſt:—and his behaviour during the action leaves us no room to ſuppoſe he could be afraid of a beaten and flying enemy. But it is nevertheleſs well known, that the ſame man may be a hero at noon, and a coward at midnight. In a word, it is highly improbable that Bronker ſhould dare to give ſuch orders of himſelf; and although we know nothing poſitively to the contrary, we are informed by Burnet, that the duke ſeemed very much ſtruck when, underſtanding he was likely to come up with the enemy, he was told by Pen, his captain, that he muſt "prepare for *hotter work* in the *next engage-* "*ment*," as the Dutch always gather *courage* from *deſpair*. (*Hiſt. of his Own Times*, vol. i. book ii.) This information Burnet had from the earl of Montague, who was then a volunteer on board the duke's ſhip.

the

PART II. A. D. 1665.

the plague, which carried off near an hundred thouſand perſons in London in one year. The melancholy apprehenſions occaſioned by this calamity, added to the horrors of war, were increaſed by the proſpect of new enemies. Lewis XIV. was obliged to aſſiſt the Dutch, in conſequence of his alliance with de Wit and the States; and the king of Denmark, who was jealous of the naval power of England, engaged to furniſh thirty ſhips in ſupport of the ſame cauſe, for an annual ſubſidy of fifteen hundred thouſand crowns[21]. De Wit, however, who was now blamed as the author of the war, did not truſt to theſe alliances. He not only forwarded the naval preparations, but went on board the fleet himſelf; and ſo extenſive was his genius, that he ſoon became as much maſter of ſea affairs, as if he had been bred to them from his infancy. By his courage and capacity, he quickly remedied all the diſorders occaſioned by the late misfortune; infuſed new confidence into his party, and revived the declining valour of his countrymen[22].

In order to balance ſo formidable a combination, Charles attempted, but without ſucceſs, to negociate an alliance with Spain. Conſcious, however, that Lewis could have no ſerious purpoſe of exalting the power of Holland, and elated with recent ſucceſs, he was not alarmed at the number of his enemies; though every ſhore was hoſtile to the Engliſh ſeamen, from the extremity of Norway to the coaſt of Bayonne. A formidable fleet of ſeventy-eight ſail of the line, commanded by the duke of Albemarle and prince Rupert, ſeemed to juſtify the confidence of the king. But unfortunately this force was divided in the moment of

21. *Let. D'Eſtrades.* 22. Baſnage.

danger.

danger. It having been reported, that the duke of Beaufort had entered the Channel, with a French fleet of forty ſail, prince Rupert was detached with twenty ſail to oppoſe him. Meanwhile the Dutch fleet, to the number of ninety ſail, commanded by de Ruyter and Tromp, had put to ſea; and Albemarle, notwithſtanding his inferiority, raſhly fought an engagement[23]. But his valour atoned for his temerity. The battle that enſued is one of the moſt memorable in the annals of mankind; whether we conſider its duration, or the deſperate courage with which it was fought.

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Four days did the combat rage, without any appearance of valour ſlackening on either ſide. The Dutch had the advantage in the action of the firſt day; yet Albemarle, in engaging de Ruyter, had ſhewed himſelf worthy of his former renown. Two Dutch admirals were ſlain, and three Engliſh ſhips taken. One Dutch ſhip was burnt. Darkneſs parted the combatants. Next morning the battle was renewed with redoubled fierceneſs; and the Dutch were ready to give way, when they were reinforced with ſixteen capital ſhips. The Engliſh now found that the moſt heroic valour cannot counterbalance the ſuperiority of numbers, againſt an enemy not defective either in courage or conduct. Albemarle, however, would yield to nothing but the interpoſition of night; and, although he had loſt no ſhips in this ſecond action, he found his force ſo much weakened, that he reſolved to take advantage of the darkneſs and retire. But the vigilance of the enemy, and the ſhattered condition of his fleet, prevented him from fully executing his deſign. Before morning, however, he was able to make ſome way; and it was four in the afternoon, before de

23. *Clarendon's Life. Contin. of Baker.*

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Ruyter could come up with him. His disabled ships were ordered to make all the sail possible, and keep a-head, while he himself closed the rear with sixteen of the most entire, and presented an undaunted countenance to the Hollanders. Determined to perish sooner than to strike, he prepared to renew the action. But as he was sensible the probability of success was against him, he declared to the earl of Ossory, son of the duke of Ormond, who was then on board with him, his intention to blow up his ship rather than fall into the hands of the enemy:—and that gallant youth applauded the desperate resolution. But fortune rescued both from such a violent death, at the same time that it saved the English navy. A fleet being descried before the action was renewed, suspense for a time restrained the rage of the combatants. One party concluded it to be the duke of Beaufort, the other Prince Rupert, and both rent the sky with their shouts. At length, to the unspeakable joy of the English, it was discovered to be the Prince. Night prevented an immediate renewal of the action, but next morning the battle raged with more intenseness than ever. Through the whole fourth day the contest remained doubtful; and toward evening both fleets, as if weary of carnage, retired under a thick fog to their respective harbours [24].

But the English admirals were men of too high valour to be satisfied with less than victory. While they sent the disabled ships to different docks to be refitted, they remained on board their own. The whole fleet was soon ready to put to sea, and a new engagement was eagerly sought. Nor was it long denied them. Ruyter and Tromp, with the Dutch

24. Basnage. Clarendon. Heath.

fleet,

fleet, conſiſting of about eighty ſail, had poſted themſelves at the mouth of the Thames, in hopes of being joined by a French ſquadron, and of riding triumphant in the Channel. There they were deſcried by the Engliſh fleet under prince Rupert and Albemarle. The force on both ſides was nearly equal. The Dutch bore toward the coaſt of Holland, but were cloſely purſued. At length they formed themſelves in order of battle, and a terrible conflict enſued. Sir Thomas Allen, who commanded the Engliſh white ſquadron, attacked the Dutch van with irreſiſtible fury, and killed the three admirals who commanded it. Tromp engaged, and defeated ſir Jeremy Smith, admiral of the blue; but unfortunately for his countrymen, by purſuing too eagerly, he was utterly ſeparated from the Dutch center, where his aſſiſtance was much wanted. Meanwhile de Ruyter, who occupied that dangerous ſtation, maintained with equal conduct and courage the combat againſt the center of the Engliſh fleet, commanded by Rupert and Albemarle. Overpowered by numbers, his high ſpirit was at laſt obliged to ſubmit to a retreat, which he conducted with the greateſt ability; yet could he not help exclaiming, in the agony of his heart, "My God! "what a wretch am I, to be compelled to ſubmit to this "diſgrace! —Among ſo many thouſand bullets, is "there not one to put an end to my miſerable life?" Tromp too, after all his ſucceſs, was obliged to yield to the combined efforts of the Engliſh red and blue ſquadrons 25.

LETTER XII.

A. D. 1666.

July 19.

THOUGH the loſs ſuſtained by the Dutch in this engagement was not very conſiderable, it occaſioned great conſternation among the provinces. The de-

25. Ibid.

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feat of their fleet filled them with the moſt melancholy apprehenſions. Some of theſe were ſoon realized. The Engliſh, now abſolute maſters of the ſea, rode in triumph along the coaſt, and inſulted the Hollanders in their harbours. A ſquadron, under ſir Robert Homes, entered the road of Vlie, and burnt two men of war and an hundred and forty rich merchantmen, together with the large village of Brandaris; the whole damage being computed at ſeveral millions ſterling [26].

THE ſituation of de Wit was now truly critical. The Dutch merchants, uniting themſelves with the Orange faction, violently exclaimed againſt an adminiſtration, which, as they pretended, had brought diſgrace and ruin on their country. But the firm and intrepid mind of de Wit ſupported him under all his difficulties and diſtreſſes. Having quieted the provinces of Holland and Zealand, he gave himſelf little trouble about the murmurs of the reſt, as they contributed but little toward the public expence. The fleet of the republic was refitted in an incredibly ſhort time, and again ſent to ſea under de Ruyter; and the king of France, though pleaſed to ſee England and Holland weakening each other's naval force, haſtened the ſailing of the duke of Beaufort, leſt a ſecond defeat ſhould oblige his friend de Wit to abandon his dangerous ſtation [27]. Such a defeat would certainly have happened to one, if not to both fleets, had not a violent ſtorm obliged prince Rupert to retire into St. Helen's. While he remained there, repairing the damages he had ſuſtained, de Ruyter, who had taken ſhelter in the road of Boulogne, returned home

26. Clarendon. Heath 27. Baſnage. Le Clerc.

with

with his fleet in a ſickly condition. The duke of Beaufort, who came too late to form a junction with the Dutch admiral, paſſed both up and down the Channel without being obſerved by the Engliſh fleet; and Lewis XIV. anxious for the ſafety of his infant navy, which he had reared with much care and induſtry, diſpatched orders to Beaufort to make the beſt of his way to Breſt [28]. LETTER XII. A. D. 1666.

THE ſame ſtorm which, by ſea, prevented prince Rupert from annoying the French and Dutch fleets, promoted a dreadful calamity on land. A fire broke out, at one in the morning, in a baker's ſhop near London-bridge, and had acquired great force before it was obſerved. The neighbouring houſes were chiefly compoſed of wood; the weather had long been remarkably dry; the ſtreets were narrow, and the wind blew violently from the eaſt: ſo that the flames ſpread rapidly from houſe to houſe, and from ſtreet to ſtreet, till the whole city was in a blaze. Terror and conſternation ſeized on the diſtracted inhabitants; who conſidered the conflagration, ſo faſt following the plague, as another viſitation from Heaven, on account of the crimes of the court; or as a conſpiracy of the papiſts, in conjunction with France, for the extirpation of all true religion. Suſpicions even extended to the royal family [29]. Three nights and three days did the flames rage with increaſing fury: on the fourth day, the wind falling, the fire ceaſed in a manner as wonderful as its progreſs. Of twenty-ſix wards, into which the city was divided, fifteen were burnt down; four hundred ſtreets and lanes, and thirteen Sept. 2.

28. *Clarendon's Life. Contin. of Baker.* 29. Burnet, book ii.

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thouſand houſes were deſtroyed 30. But this calamity, though ſeverely felt at the time, has eventually contributed to the health, ſafety, and future conveniency of the inhabitants of London, by the judicious method obſerved in conſtructing the new buildings 31; and, what is truly remarkable, it does not appear that, during the whole conflagration, one life was loſt either by fire or otherwiſe.

THOUGH the moſt judicious hiſtorians leave us no room to ſuppoſe that either the catholics or the court had any concern in the fire of London, the very ſuſpicion of ſuch a conſpiracy is a proof of the jealouſy entertained of the meaſures of government. This jealouſy was chiefly occaſioned by the ſeverities exerciſed againſt the Preſbyterians and other non-conformiſts, who ſtill compoſed the majority of the people of England; and by the ſecret favour ſhewn to the Catholics, who, though proſcribed by many laws, ſeldom felt the rigour of any.

THE non-conformiſts in Scotland were, if poſſible, ſtill more harſhly treated. In conſequence of the introduction of epiſcopacy, a mode of worſhip extremely obnoxious to the great body of the Scottiſh nation, three hundred and fifty pariſh churches had been at once declared vacant. New miniſters were ſought for all over the kingdom, and the churches filled with men of the moſt abandoned characters. No candidate was ſo ignorant or vicious as to be rejected. The people, who were extremely devoted to

30. *King James's Mem. Clarendon's Life.* Burnet, ubi ſup.

31. The ſtreets were not only made wider, and more regular than formerly, but the houſes were formed of leſs combuſtible materials, the uſe of lath and plaiſter being prohibited.

their

their former teachers (men remarkable for the auſterity of their manners and their fervour in preaching) could not conceal their indignation againſt theſe intruders, whoſe debaucheries filled them with horror. They followed the ejected clergymen to the woods and mountains, where multitudes aſſembled to liſten to their pious diſcourſes; and while this pleaſure was allowed them, they diſcovered no ſymptoms of ſedition. But when the Scottiſh parliament, which was wholly under the influence of the court, framed a law againſt conventicles, ſimilar to that ſevere act paſſed in England, the people took the alarm:—and the cruelties and oppreſſions exerciſed in enforcing this law, at laſt rouſed them to rebellion 32.

THE inhabitants of the weſtern counties, where religious zeal has always been more ardent than in any other part of Scotland, roſe in arms, to the number of two thouſand, and renewed the Covenant. They conducted themſelves, however, in a harmleſs and inoffenſive manner, committing no kind of violence, nor extorting any thing by force; and they publiſhed a manifeſto, in which they profeſſed their loyalty and ſubmiſſion to the king, and only deſired the re-eſtabliſhment of Preſbytery and their former miniſters. As moſt of the gentlemen of their party in the Weſt, had been confined on ſuſpicion of an inſurrection, they marched toward Edinburgh, in hopes of being joined by ſome men of rank; but finding themſelves deceived, many diſperſed, and the reſt were marching back to their own country, when they were attacked

32. Not only ſuch as frequented conventicles were puniſhed to the utmoſt rigour of the law, but when it was found that the head of any family did not regularly go to church, ſoldiers were quartered upon him, till he paid a due attendance. Burnet, book ii.

PART II. A.D. 1666. Nov. 28. by the king's forces, and routed at Pentland Hills. A conſiderable number of priſoners were taken, and treated with great ſeverity: ten were hanged on one gibbet at Edinburgh, and thirty-five before their own doors, in different parts of the country 33.

ALL theſe men might have ſaved their lives, if they would either have renounced the Covenant or diſcovered any of their aſſociates; but, though moſtly perſons of mean condition, they adhered inviolably to their faith and friendſhip. Maccail, one of their teachers, ſuppoſed to have been deep in the ſecrets of his party, was put to the torture, in order to extort a confeſſion, but without effect. He bore his ſufferings with great conſtancy; and expiring under them, ſeemed to depart in a tranſport of joy. "Farewell ſun, "moon, and ſtars," ſaid he;—"farewell kindred and "friends; farewel weak and frail body; farewel "world and time: welcome eternity, welcome an-"gels and ſaints, welcome Saviour of the world, and "welcome God the judge of all 34!" Theſe words he uttered with a voice and manner that made a great impreſſion upon all that heard him, and contributed not a little to inflame the zeal of his partizans. Conventicles continued to be attended, in defiance of all the rigours of government, though theſe were extended to a degree of ſeverity that was diſgraceful to humanity.

THE ſtate of Ireland was no leſs deplorable than that of Scotland; but the miſeries of the Iriſh proceeded from other cauſes. Thoſe it muſt now be our buſineſs to trace.

CROMWELL having expelled, without diſtinction, all the native Iriſh from their three principal provinces

33. Burnet, vol. i. book ii. 34. Id. ibid.

Munſter,

Munſter, Leinſter, and Ulſter, had confined them to Connaught and the county of Clare. And although thoſe who had thus been expelled were generally Catholics, many of them were altogether innocent of the maſſacre which had drawn ſo much odium on their countrymen of that religion. Several Proteſtants too, and the the duke of Ormond among the reſt, who had uniformly oppoſed the Iriſh rebellion, were alſo attainted, becauſe they had afterward embraced the king's cauſe againſt the parliament. To all theſe unhappy ſufferers, ſome relief ſeemed due after the Reſtoration; but the difficulty was, how to find the means of redreſſing ſuch great and extenſive grievances.

THE moſt valuable lands in Ireland had been already meaſured out and divided, either among the adventurers who had lent money to the parliament for the ſuppreſſion of the popiſh conſpiracy, or among the ſoldiers who had accompliſhed that buſineſs. Theſe men could not be diſpoſſeſſed; becauſe they were the moſt powerful, and only armed part of the inhabitants of Ireland; becauſe it was neceſſary to favour them, in order to ſupport the Proteſtant and Engliſh intereſt in that kingdom; and becauſe they had generally, with ſeeming zeal and alacrity, concurred in the king's Reſtoration. Charles, therefore, iſſued a proclamation, in which he promiſed to maintain their ſettlement: and he at the ſame time engaged to yield redreſs to the innocent ſufferers [35].

THERE was a conſiderable quantity of land ſtill undivided in Ireland; and from this and other funds, it was thought poſſible for the king to fulfil his engagements, without diſturbing the preſent landholders. A

35. Carte's *Life of the duke of Ormond*, vol. ii. Hume, vol. vii.

Court

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Court of Claims was accordingly erected, conſiſting altogether of Engliſh commiſſioners, who had no connexion with any of the parties into which Ireland was divided; and the duke of Ormond, being ſuppoſed the only perſon whoſe prudence and juſtice could compoſe ſuch jarring intereſts, was created lord-lieutenant. The number of claims preſented ſpread univerſal anxiety and alarm; but after a temporary ferment, all parties ſeemed willing to abate ſomewhat of their pretenſions, in order to obtain ſtability. Ormond interpoſed his authority to that purpoſe. The ſoldiers and adventurers agreed to relinquiſh a fourth of their poſſeſſions: all thoſe who had been attainted on account of their adherence to the king were reſtored, and ſome of the innocent Catholics[36].

In conſequence of this ſettlement, Ireland began to acquire a degree of compoſure, when it was diſturbed by an impolitic act, paſſed by the Engliſh parliament, prohibiting the importation of Iriſh cattle into England. Ormond remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt that law. He ſaid, that the trade then carried on between England and Ireland was extremely to the advantage of the former kingdom, which received only proviſions, or rude materials, in return for every ſpecies of manufacture; that if the cattle of Ireland were prohibited, the inhabitants of that iſland had no other commodity with which they could pay England for their importations, and muſt therefore have recourſe to other nations for a ſupply; that the induſtrious part of the inhabitants of England, if deprived of Iriſh proviſions, which made living cheap would be obliged to augment the price of labour, and thereby

36. Id. ibid.

render their manufactures too dear to be exported with advantage to foreign markets [37]. LETTER XII.

THE king was ſo well convinced of the force of theſe arguments, that he uſed all his intereſt to oppoſe the bill, and declared that he could not give his aſſent to it with a ſafe conſcience. But the commons were obſtinate, and Charles was in want of ſupply: he was therefore impelled by his fears of a refuſal to paſs it into a law [38]. The event, however, juſtified the reaſoning of Ormond. This ſevere law brought great diſtreſs upon Ireland for a time; but it has proved in the iſſue beneficial to that kingdom, and hurtful to England, by obliging the Iriſh to apply with more induſtry to manufactures, and to cultivate a commercial correſpondence with France. A.D. 1667. Jan. 18.

THESE grievances and diſcontents in all the three kingdoms, and the little ſucceſs in a war from which the greateſt advantages were expected, induced the king to turn his thoughts toward peace. The Dutch, whoſe trade had ſuffered extremely, were no leſs diſpoſed to ſuch a meaſure; and after ſome ineffectual conferences, held in the queen-mother's apartments at Paris, it was agreed to transfer the negociation to Breda. The Engliſh ambaſſadors, lord Hollis and Henry Coventry, immediately deſired, that a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities ſhould be agreed to, until the ſeveral claims could be adjuſted; but this propoſal, ſeemingly ſo natural, was rejected through the influence of the penetrating de Wit. That able and active miniſter, perfectly acquainted with the characters of the contending princes, and with the ſituation of affairs in Europe, had diſcovered an opportunity of ſtriking a

37. Carte, ubi ſup. 38. *Parl. Hiſt.* vol. xxiii.

blow,

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blow, which might at once reſtore to the Dutch the honour loſt during the war, and ſeverely revenge thoſe injuries which he aſcribed to the wanton ambition and injuſtice of the Engliſh monarch [39].

THE expence of the naval armaments of England had been ſo great, that Charles had not hitherto been able to convert to his own uſe any of the money granted him by parliament. He therefore reſolved to ſave, as far as poſſible, the laſt ſupply of one million eight hundred thouſand pounds, for the payment of his debts. This ſum, which was thought by his wiſeſt miniſters too ſmall to enable him to carry on the war with vigour, afforded the profuſe and needy monarch a pretence for laying up his firſt and ſecond rate ſhips. Nor did that meaſure appear highly reprehenſible, as the immediate proſpect of peace ſeemed ſufficient to free the king from all apprehenſions of danger from his enemies. But de Wit, who was informed of this ſupine ſecurity, protracted the negociations at Breda, and haſtened the naval preparations of Holland. The Dutch fleet under de Ruyter, took poſſeſſion of the mouth of the Thames; while a ſquadron commanded by Van Ghent, aſſiſted by an eaſt wind and a ſpring tide, after reducing Sheerneſs, broke a chain which had been drawn acroſs the river Medway, and deſtroyed three ſhips ſtationed to guard it; advanced as far as Chatham, and burned the Royal Oak, the Loyal London, and the Great James, all firſt rates, and carried off the hull of the Royal Charles [40].

June 10.

THE deſtruction of the ſhips at Chatham threw the city of London into the utmoſt conſternation.

39. Baſnage. 40. *Clarendon's Life. King James's Mem.* Captain Douglas, who commanded on board the Royal Oak, periſhed in the flames, though he had an eaſy opportunity of eſcaping. "Never was it known," ſaid he, "that a Douglas quitted his poſt without orders!" Temple, vol. ii.

It

It was apprehended the Dutch would next ſail up the Thames, and that they might carry their hoſtilities even as far as London-bridge. Nine ſhips were ſunk at Woolwich, five at Blackwall; platforms were built in many places, furniſhed with artillery; the country was armed, and the train-bands of the city were called out. Theſe precautions, and the difficult navigation of the Thames, induced de Ruyter to ſteer his courſe to the weſtward. He made a fruitleſs attempt upon Portſmouth, and alſo on Plymouth: he returned to the mouth of the Thames, where he was not more ſucceſsful; but he rode triumphant in the Channel for ſeveral weeks, and ſpread univerſal alarm along the coaſt [41]. LETTER XII. A. D. 1667.

THESE fears, however, were ſoon diſpelled by the ſigning of the treaty at Breda. In order to facilitate that meaſure, ſo neceſſary in his preſent diſtreſſed ſituation, Charles had inſtructed his ambaſſadors to recede from thoſe demands which had hitherto obſtructed the negociation. No mention was now made of the reſtitution of the iſland of Polerone in the Eaſt Indies, which had been formerly inſiſted on; nor was any ſatisfaction required for thoſe depredations, which had been aſſigned as the cauſe of the war. England, however, retained poſſeſſion of New York; and the Engliſh ſettlement of Surinam, which had been reduced by the Dutch, was ceded to the republic [42]. July 10.

BUT this pacification, though it removed the apprehenſions of danger, by no means quieted the diſcontents of the people. All men of ſpirit were filled with indignation at the improvidence of government, and at the avarice, meanneſs, and prodigality of the king, who in order to procure money to ſquander upon

41. Id. ibid. 42. Clarendon, ubi ſup.

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his pleaſures, had left his kingdom expoſed to inſult and diſgrace. In a word, the ſhameful concluſion of the Dutch war, totally diſpelled that delirium of joy, which had been occaſioned by the Reſtoration; and the people, as if awaking from a dream, wondered why they had been pleaſed.

CHARLES, who amid all his diſſipations poſſeſſed, and even employed a conſiderable ſhare of political ſagacity, as well as addreſs, reſolved to attempt the recovery of his popularity, by ſacrificing his miniſter to the national reſentment. The plan in part ſucceeded, as it ſeemed to indicate a change of meaſures, at the ſame time that it preſented a grateful offering to an offended people.

THOUGH the earl of Clarendon had for ſome time loſt the confidence of his ſovereign, by the auſterity of his manners, and the ſeverity of his remonſtrances, he was ſtill conſidered by the public as the head of the cabinet, and regarded as the author of every unpopular meaſure ſince the Reſtoration. The king's marriage, in which he had merely acquieſced; the ſale of Dunkirk, to which he had only given his aſſent, as one of the council; the Dutch war, which he had oppoſed; and all the perſecuting laws againſt the different ſectaries, were univerſally aſcribed to him. The Catholics knew him to be the declared enemy of their principles, both civil and religious: ſo that he was expoſed, one way or other, to the hatred of every party in the nation. This general odium afforded the king a pretence for depriving him of the ſeals, and diſmiſſing him from his councils; and the parliament, to whom Charles ungenerouſly gave the hint, firſt impeached, and then baniſhed him

him [43]. Conſcious of his own innocence, and unwilling to diſturb the tranquillity of the ſtate, the chancellor made no defence, but quietly ſubmitted to his ſentence. And this cruel treatment of ſo good a miniſter, by a kind of tacit combination of prince and people, is a ſtriking example of the ingratitude of the one, and of the ignorance and injuſtice of the other; for if Clarendon was not a great, he was at leaſt an upright, and even an able ſtateſman. He was, to uſe the words of his friend Southampton, "a true "Proteſtant, and an honeſt Engliſhman;" equally attentive to the juſt prerogatives of the crown, and to the conſtitutional liberties of the ſubject, whatever errrors he might be guilty of either in foreign or domeſtic politics.

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A. D. 1667.

The king's next meaſure, namely the Triple Alliance, was no leſs popular, and more deſerving of praiſe. But before I ſpeak of that alliance, we muſt take a view of the ſtate of France and Spain.

LEWIS XIV. who aſſumed the reins of government nearly at the ſame time that Charles II. was reſtored to the throne of his anceſtors, poſſeſſed every quality that could flatter the pride, or conciliate the affections of a vain-glorious people. The manly beauty of his perſon, in which he ſurpaſſed all his courtiers, was embelliſhed with a noble air; the dignity of his behaviour was tempered with affability and politeneſs; and if he was not the greateſt king, he was at leaſt, to uſe the words of my lord Bolingbroke, "the beſt actor of majeſty that ever filled a "throne [44]. Addicted to pleaſure, but decent even

43. *King James's Memoirs. Clarendon's Life.* 44. *Letters on the Study and Uſe of Hiſtory.*

in

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in his ſenſualities, he ſet an example of elegant gallantry to his ſubjects; while he elated their vanity, and gratified their paſſion for ſhew, by the magnificence of his palaces and the ſplendour of his public entertainments. Though illiterate himſelf, he was a munificent patron of learning and the polite arts; and men of genius, not only in his own kingdom, but all over Europe, experienced the foſtering influence of his liberality.

Dazzled with the luſtre of ſo many ſhining qualities, and proud to participate in the glory of their young ſovereign, the French nation ſubmitted without murmuring to the moſt violent ſtretches of arbitrary power. This ſubmiſſive loyalty, combined with the ambition of the prince, the induſtry and ingenuity of the people, and her own internal tranquillity, made France, which had long been diſtracted by domeſtic factions, and overſhadowed by the grandeur of the Spaniſh monarchy, now appear truly formidable to the neighbouring kingdoms. Colbert, an able and active miniſter, had put the finances into excellent order; enormous ſums were raiſed for the public ſervice; a navy was created, and a great ſtanding army ſupported, without being felt by that populous and extenſive kingdom.

Conscious of his power and his reſources, the French monarch had early given ſymptoms of that haughty ſpirit, that reſtleſs ambition, and inſatiable thirſt of glory, which ſo long diſturbed the peace of Europe. A quarrel having happened, in London, between the French and Spaniſh ambaſſadors, on account of their claims to precedency, Lewis threatened to commence hoſtilities, unleſs the ſuperiority of his crown was acknowledged;

ledged; and was not ſatisfied till the court of Madrid ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to Paris, and promiſed never more to revive ſuch claims. His treatment of the pope was ſtill more arrogant. Crequi, the French ambaſſador at Rome, having met with an affront from the guards of Alexander VII. that pontiff was obliged to puniſh the offenders, to ſend his nephew into France to aſk pardon, and to allow a pillar to be erected in Rome itſelf, as a monument of his own humiliation. Nor did England eſcape experiencing the lofty ſpirit of Lewis. He refuſed to pay the honours of the flag; and prepared himſelf with ſuch vigour for reſiſtance, that the too eaſy Charles judged it prudent to deſiſt from his pretenſions. "The king of England," ſaid he, to his ambaſſador d'Eſtrades, "may know the amount "of my force, but he knows not the elevation of my "mind. Every thing appears to me contemptible in "compariſon of glory [45]."

A. D. 1667.

THESE were ſtrong indications of the character of the French monarch, but the firſt meaſure that gave general alarm was the invaſion of the Spaniſh Netherlands.

THOUGH Lewis XIV. by the treaty of the Pyrenees, had ſolemnly renounced all title to the ſucceſſion of any part of the Spaniſh dominions, which might occur in conſequence of his marriage with the infanta Maria Thereſa, he had ſtill kept in view, as a favourite object, the eventual ſucceſſion to the whole of that monarchy; and on the death of his father in-law, Philip IV. he retracted his renunciation, and pretended that natural rights, depending on blood and ſucceſſion, could not be annihilated by any extorted

45. *D'Eſtrades Letters.*

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deed or contract. Philip had left a ſon, Charles II. of Spain, a ſickly infant, whoſe death was daily expected; but as the queen of France was the offspring of a prior marriage, ſhe laid claim to a conſiderable province of the Spaniſh monarchy to the excluſion even of her brother. This claim was founded on a cuſtom in ſome parts of Brabant, where a female of a firſt marriage was preferred to a male of a ſecond, in the ſucceſſion to private inheritances; and from which Lewis inferred, that his queen had acquired a right to the ſovereignty of that important duchy.

SUCH an ambitious claim was more fit to be adjuſted by military force than by argument; and, in that kind of diſpute, the king of France was ſenſible of his ſuperiority. He had only to contend with a weak woman, Mary Anne of Auſtria, queen-regent of Spain, who was entirely governed by father Nitard, her confeſſor, a German Jeſuit, whom ſhe had placed at the head of her councils, after appointing him grand inquiſitor. The ignorance and arrogance of this prieſt are ſufficiently diſplayed in his well known reply to the duke of Lerma, who had treated him with diſreſpect: "You ought to revere the man," ſaid he, "who has every day your God in his hands, "and your queen at his feet [46]."

FATHER Nitard and his miſtreſs had left the Spaniſh monarchy defenceleſs in every quarter. But had the towns in the Low Countries been more ſtrongly garriſoned, and the fortifications in better repair, the king of France was prepared to overcome all difficulties. He entered Flanders at the head of forty thou-

46. Voltaire, *Siècle*, chap. vii.

ſand

ſand men: Turenne commanded under him; and Louvois, his miniſter for military affairs, had placed large magazines in all the frontier towns. The Spaniards, though appriſed of their danger, were in no condition to reſiſt ſuch a force. Charleroy, Athe, Tournay, Furnes, Armentiers, Coutray, and Douay, immediately ſurrendered; and Liſle, though well fortified, and furniſhed with a garriſon of ſix thouſand men, capitulated after a ſiege of nine days. Louvois adviſed the king to leave garriſons in all theſe towns, and the celebrated Vauban was employed to fortify them [47]. LETTER XII. A. D. 1667. Aug. 27.

A PROGRESS ſo rapid filled Europe with terror and conſternation. Another campaign, it was ſuppoſed, might put Lewis in poſſeſſion of all the Low Countries. The Dutch were particularly alarmed at the proſpect of having their frontier expoſed to ſo powerful and ambitious a neighbour. But, in looking around them, they ſaw no means of ſafety: for although the emperor and the German princes diſcovered evident ſymptoms of diſcontent, their motions were ſlow and backward; and no dependence, the States thought, could be placed on the variable and impolitic councils of the king of England. Contrary to all expectation, however, the Engliſh monarch reſolved to take the firſt ſtep toward a confederacy, which ſhould apparently have for its object the reſtraining of the power, and the ambitious pretenſions of France.

SIR William Temple, the Engliſh reſident at Bruſſels, received orders to go ſecretly to the Hague for A. D. 1668.

47. Id ibid. The citadel of Liſle was the firſt fort conſtructed according to his new principles.

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this purpoſe. Frank, open, ſincere, and ſuperior to the little arts of vulgar politicians, Temple met in de Wit with a man of the ſame generous ſentiments and honourable views. He immediately diſcloſed his maſter's intentions; and although jealouſy of the family of Orange might inſpire de Wit with an averſion againſt a ſtrict union with England, he patriotically reſolved to ſacrifice every private conſideration to the public ſafety. Lewis, dreading a general combination, had offered to relinquiſh all his queen's rights to Brabant, on condition either of keeping the conqueſts he had made laſt campaign, or of receiving inſtead of them Franche-Compté, Aire, and St. Omers. De Wit and Temple founded their treaty upon that propoſal: they agreed to offer their mediation to the contending powers, and to oblige France to adhere to this alternative, and Spain to accept it [48]. A defenſive alliance was at the ſame time concluded between England and Holland; and room being left for the acceſſion of Sweden, which was ſoon after obtained, that kingdom alſo became a principal in the treaty.

THIS alliance, which has always been conſidered as the wiſeſt meaſure in the diſgraceful reign of Charles II. reſtored England to her proper ſtation in the ſcale of Europe, and highly exalted the conſequence of Holland. Yet it is ſomewhat ſurpriſing, that the ſame confederacy which was concerted to put a ſtop to the conqueſts of Lewis XIV. did not alſo

48. Temple at firſt inſiſted on an offenſive league between England and Holland, in order to oblige France to relinquiſh all her conqueſts; but this de Wit conſidered as too ſtrong a meaſure to be agreed to by the States. The French monarch, he ſaid, was young, haughty, and powerful: and if treated in ſo imperious a manner, would expoſe himſelf to the greateſt extremities rather than ſubmit. *Temple's Memoirs*, part i.

require

require a positive renunciation of his unjust pretensions to the Spanish succession; for if his former renunciations were no bar to the supposed rights accruing to Maria Theresa, his queen, on the death of her father, Philip IV. they could be none to the rights that would accrue to her and her children on the death of her brother Charles, whose languishing state of health left no room to hope that he could ever live to have offspring. But our surprise on this account ceases, when we are told, that the king of England was actuated by no views of general policy; that to acquire a temporary popularity with his subjects, to ruin de Wit, by detaching him from France; and, in consequence of his fall, to raise the family of Orange, were Charles's only motives for standing forth as the head of the Triple Alliance 49. It gave however, at the time, great satisfaction to the contracting powers, and filled the negociators with the highest joy. "At Breda, as friends!"—cried Temple;—"here as brothers!" and de Wit added, that now the business was finished, it looked like a miracle 50.

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France and Spain were equally displeased at the terms of this treaty. Lewis was enraged to find limits set to his ambition; for although his own offer was made the basis of the league, that offer had only been thrown out, in order to allay the jealousy of the neighbouring powers, and to keep them in a state of inaction, till he had reduced the whole ten provinces of the Low Countries. Spain was no less dissatisfied at the thought of being obliged to give up so many important places, on account of such unjust claims

49. *Mem. de Gourville*, tom. ii. See also Macpherson's *Hist. of Britain*, vol. i. and Dalrymple's *Append.* 50. *Temple's Mem.* part i.

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and unprovoked hoſtilities. At length, however, both agreed to treat, and the plenipotentiaries of all the parties met at Aix-la-Chapelle; where Spain, from a conſciouſneſs of her own weakneſs, accepted of the alternative offered by France, but in a way that occaſioned general ſurpriſe, and gave much uneaſineſs to the Dutch. Lewis, under pretence of enforcing the peace, had entered Franche-Comté in the month of February, and reduced the whole province, in a few weeks. Spain choſe to recover this province, and to abandon all the towns conquered in Flanders during the laſt campaign [51]; ſo that the French monarch ſtill extended his garriſons into the heart of the Low Countries, and but a ſlender barrier remained to the United Provinces. But as the Triple League guarantied the remaining provinces of Spain, and the emperor and the German princes, whoſe intereſts appeared to require its ſupport, were invited to enter into the ſame confederacy, Lewis, it was thought, could entertain no views of proſecuting his conqueſts in the quarter which lay moſt expoſed to his ambition.

OTHER circumſtances ſeemed to combine to enſure the balance of Europe. After a ruinous war of almoſt thirty years, carried on by Spain, in order to recover the ſovereignty of Portugal, and attended with various ſucceſs, an equitable treaty had at laſt been concluded between the two crowns, in conſequence of which the independency of Portugal was acknowledged [52]. Being now free from ſo formidable a foe,

51. Id. ibid.

52. This treaty, which was concluded through the mediation of the king of England, and to which a body of Engliſh troops had greatly contributed by their valour, was partly connected with a very ſingular revolution.

a foe, Spain might be expected to exert more vigour in defence of her poſſeſſions in the Low Countries; and the ſatisfaction expreſſed in England on account of the late treaty, promiſed the moſt hearty concurrence of the parliament in every meaſure that ſhould be propoſed for confining the dangerous greatneſs of France. A.D. 1668.

BUT the bold ambition of Lewis XIV. aided by the pernicious policy of the faithleſs Charles, ſoon broke through all reſtraints; and, as we ſhall afterward have occaſion to ſee, ſet at defiance more formidable confederacies than the Triple Alliance.

revolution. Alphonſo VI. (ſon of the famous duke of Braganza, who had encouraged the Portugueſe to ſhake off the Spaniſh yoke, and who was rewarded with the crown) a weak and profligate prince, had offended his ſubjects by ſuffering himſelf to be governed by the mean companions of his pleaſures. His queen, daughter of the duke of Nemours, attracted by the more agreeable qualities of his brother, Don Pedro, forſook his bed, and fled to a monaſtery. She accuſed him of debility both of body and mind, ſued for a divorce, and put herſelf, in the mean time, under the protection of the church. A faction ſeized the wretched Alphonſo, who was confined in the iſland of Tercera; while his brother, who immediately married the queen, was declared regent of the kingdom in an aſſembly of the States. (Vertot *Hiſt. de la Revol. de Port.*) Don Pedro, a prince of abilities, was preparing to aſſert with vigour the independency of his country, when it was eſtabliſhed by treaty, in the beginning of the year 1668.

LETTER XIII.

The General View of the Affairs of EUROPE *continued, from the Treaty of* AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, *in* 1668, *to the Peace of* NIMEGUEN, *in* 1678.

AS the moſt trivial cauſes frequently produce the greateſt events, in like manner, my dear Philip, the ſlighteſt circumſtances are often laid hold of by ambition, as a pretext for its devaſtations—for deluging the earth with blood, and trampling upon the rights of mankind. Though Lewis XIV. was highly incenſed at the republic of Holland, for pretending to preſcribe limits to his conqueſts, and had reſolved upon revenge; yet his reſentment ſeems to have been more particularly roufed by the arrogance of Van Beuninghen, the Dutch ambaſſador. This republican, who although but a burgomaſter of Amſterdam, poſſeſſed the vivacity of a courtier and the abilities of a ſtateſman, took a peculiar pleaſure in mortifying the pride of the French monarch, when employed in negociating the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. "Will you "not truſt to the king's word?"—ſaid M. de Lionne to him in a conference. "I know not what the king "will do," replied he:—"but I know what he can "do[1]." A medal is alſo mentioned, though ſeemingly without foundation, on which Van Beuninghen (his Chriſtian-name being *Joſhua*) was repreſented, in alluſion to the ſcripture, as arreſting the *Sun* in his courſe:—and the ſun was the deviſe choſen for Lewis XIV. by his flatterers[2]! It is certain, however, that the States ordered a medal to be ſtruck, on which, in a pompous inſcription, the republic is ſaid to have

1. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. viii. 2. Ibid. chap. ix.

conciliated

conciliated kings, and reſtored tranquillity to Europe. LETTER XIII. A.D. 1668

THESE were unpardonable affronts in the eyes of a young and haughty monarch, ſurrounded by minions and miſtreſſes, and ſtimulated by an inſatiable thirſt of glory. But whilſt Lewis was making preparations for chaſtiſing the inſolence of the Dutch, or rather for the conqueſt of Holland, his love of fame was attracted by a new object, and part of his forces employed againſt an enemy more deſerving the indignation of the *Moſt Chriſtian* King.

THE Turks, after a long interval of inaction, were again become formidable to Europe. The grand vizier, Kupruli, who at once directed the councils and conducted the armies of the Porte, had entered Hungary at the head of an hundred thouſand men, in 1664; and although he was defeated, in a great battle, near St. Godard upon the Raab, by the imperial troops, under the famous Montecuculi, the Turks obtained a favourable peace from Leopold, who was threatened with a revolt of the Hungarians. The Hungarian nobles, whoſe privileges had been invaded by the emperor, flew to arms, and even craved the aſſiſtance of the Turks, their old and irreconcilable enemies. The rebels were quickly ſubdued by the vigour of Leopold. But the body of that brave people who had ſo often repelled the Infidels, and tilled, with the ſword in their hand, a country watered with the blood of their anceſtors, were ſtill diſſatisfied; and Germany itſelf, deprived of ſo ſtrong a barrier as Hungary, was ſoon threatened by the Turks.

IN the mean time Kupruli turned the arms of the Porte againſt the Venetians; and an army of ſixty thouſand

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thouſand Janizaries, under that able and experienced general, had now beſieged Candia for upward of two years. But the time of the Cruſades was long paſt, and the ardour which inſpired them extinguiſhed. Though this iſland was reputed one of the chief bulwarks of Chriſtendom againſt the Infidels, no general confederacy had been formed for its defence. The pope and the knights of Malta were the only allies of the Venetians againſt the whole naval and military force of the Ottoman empire. At length, however, Lewis XIV. whoſe love of glory had made him aſſiſt the emperor againſt the Turks even in Hungary, ſent
A D. 1669. a fleet from Toulon to the relief of Candia, with ſeven thouſand men on board, under the duke of Beaufort. But as no other Chriſtian prince imitated his example, theſe ſuccours ſerved only to retard the conqueſt of that important iſland. The duke of Beaufort was ſlain in a ſally; and the capital being reduced
Sept. 16. to a heap of ruins, ſurrendered to Kupruli [3]. The Turks, during this ſiege, diſcovered great knowledge of the military art; and Moroſini, the Venetian admiral, and Montbrun, who commanded the troops of the republic, made all the exertions, and took advantage of all the circumſtances, that ſeemed poſſible for valour and conduct, in oppoſition to ſuch ſuperior armaments.

THESE diſtant operations did not a moment divert the attention of Lewis from his favourite project, the conqueſt of the Low Countries, which he meant to reſume with the invaſion of Holland. But, in order to render that project ſucceſsful, it ſeemed neceſſary to detach England from the Triple Alliance. This was no difficult matter.

3. Voltaire, ubi ſup. Henault, 1669.

SINCE

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A. D. 1669.

SINCE the exile of Clarendon, which had been preceded by the death of Southampton, and was ſoon followed by that of Albemarle, Charles II. having no man of principle to be a check upon his conduct, had given up his mind entirely to arbitrary counſels. Theſe counſels were wholly directed by five perſons, commonly denominated the CABAL, in alluſion to the initial letters of their names; Clifford, Aſhley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale: all men of abilities, but deſtitute of either public or private virtue. They had flattered Charles in his deſire of abſolute power, and encouraged him to hope that he might accompliſh it by a cloſe connexion with France 4. Lewis, they ſaid, if gratified in his ambition, would be found both able and willing to defend the common cauſe of kings againſt uſurping ſubjects; that the conqueſt of the United Provinces, undertaken by two ſuch potent monarchs, would prove an eaſy enterpriſe, and effectually contribute to the attainment of the great purpoſe deſired; that, under pretence of the Dutch war, the king might levy a military force, without which he could never hope to maintain, or enlarge his prerogative; and that, by ſubduing the republic of Holland, a great ſtep would be made toward a deſirable change in the Engliſh government; as it was evident the fame and grandeur of that republic fortified his majeſty's factious ſubjects

4. Charles's deſire of abſolute power ſeems to have proceeded more from a love of eaſe, and an indolence of temper, than from any inclination to oppreſs his ſubjects. He wiſhed to be able to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies without the trouble of managing the parliament. But as his profuſion was boundleſs, and his neceſſities in conſequence of it very great, it may be queſtioned whether, if he had accompliſhed his aim, he would not have loaded his people with taxes beyond what they could eaſily bear. At any rate, the attempt was atrocious; was treaſon againſt the conſtitution, and ought to be held in eternal deteſtation.

in

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in their attachment to what they vainly termed their civil and religious liberties [5].

But although such were the views of the king, and such the sentiments of his ministers, so conscious was Charles of the criminality of the measures he meant to pursue, that only two of the unprincipled members of the Cabal were thought fit to be trusted with his whole scheme; Clifford and Arlington, both secretly Roman Catholics [6]. By the counsels of these men, in conjunction with the duke of York and some other Catholics, was concluded at Paris, by the lord Arundel of Wardour, a secret treaty with France; in which it was agreed, not only that Charles should co-operate in the conquest of the Low Countries, and in the destruction of Holland, but that he should propagate, to the utmost of his power, the Catholic faith in his dominions, and publicly declare himself a convert to that religion [7]. In consideration of this last article, he was to receive from Lewis the sum of two hundred thousand pounds, and a body of troops, in case the change of his religion should occasion a rebellion in England; and, by another article, a large annual subsidy was to be paid him, in order to enable him to carry on the war, without the assistance of parliament [8].

On purpose to concert measures conformable to this alliance, and to conceal from the world, and even from the majority of the Cabal, the secret treaty with France, a pompous farce was acted, and an im-

5. Boling. *Stud. Hist.* Hume, vol. viii. 6. *King James's Memoirs.*

7. The time when this declaration should be made, was left to Charles; who, at the prospect of being able to reunite his kingdoms to the Catholic church, is said to have wept for joy. *King James's Mem.*

8. *King James*, ubi sup. See also Dalrymple's *Append.*

portant

portant negociation managed by a woman of twenty-five. Lewis, under pretence of viſiting his late conqueſts, but eſpecially the great works he was erecting at Dunkirk, made a journey thither, accompanied with his whole court, and preceded or followed by thirty thouſand men; ſome deſtined to reinforce the garriſons, ſome to work on the fortifications, and others to level the roads[9]. The princeſs Henrietta Maria of England, who had been married to the duke of Orleans, brother to Lewis XIV. and who was equally beautiful and accompliſhed, took this opportunity of viſiting her native country, as if attracted by its vicinity. Her brother Charles met her at Dover; where was concluded, between France and England, a mock treaty, perfectly ſimilar to the real one, except in the article of religion, which was totally omitted; and where, amid feſtivity and amuſements, it was finally reſolved to begin with the Dutch war, as a prelude to the eſtabliſhment of popery and arbitrary ſway in Great Britain[10].

Soon after that negociation, which gave the higheſt ſatisfaction to the French, and was ſo diſgraceful to the Engliſh monarch, died his ſiſter, the ducheſs of Orleans, the brighteſt ornament of the court of Verſailles, and the favourite of her family. Her death

9. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. ix.

10. *King James's Mem. Conference at Dover.* Beſide his eagerneſs for the conqueſt of Holland, Lewis was afraid, if Charles ſhould begin with a declaration of his religion, to which he ſeemed inclined, that it might create ſuch troubles in England as would prevent him from receiving any aſſiſtance from that kingdom; a circumſtance which weighed more with the French monarch, notwithſtanding his bigotry, than the propagation of the Catholic faith. *(Dalrymple's Appendix.)* The duke of York, on the other hand, was for beginning with religion, foreſeeing that Lewis, after ſerving his own purpoſes, would no longer trouble himſelf about England. *King James's Mem.*

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was ſudden, and not without violent ſuſpicions of poiſon; yet did it make no alteration in the conduct of Charles. Always prodigal, he hoped, in conſequence of this new alliance, to have his neceſſities amply ſupplied by the generoſity of France and the ſpoils of Holland. And Lewis XIV. well acquainted with the fluctuating councils of England, had taken care alſo to bind the king to his intereſts by a tie, yet ſtronger if poſſible, than that of his wants—by the enſlaving chain of his pleaſures. When the ducheſs of Orleans came over to meet her brother at Dover, ſhe brought among her attendants, at the deſire of the French monarch, a beautiful young lady of the name of Querouaille, who made the deſired impreſſion upon Charles. He ſent her propoſals: his offers were accepted; and although the fair favourite, in order to preſerve appearances, went back to France with her miſtreſs, ſhe ſoon returned to England. The king, in the firſt tranſports of his paſſion, created her ducheſs of Portſmouth; and as he continued attached to her during the whole future part of his life, ſhe may be ſuppoſed to have been highly inſtrumental in continuing his connexions with her native country.

Lewis, now ſure of the friendſhip of Charles, and having almoſt completed his preparations for the invaſion of the United Provinces, the chief object of their alliance, took the firſt ſtep toward the accompliſhment of it. There were two ways of leading an army from France into the territories of the republic: one lay through the Spaniſh Netherlands, the other through the dominions of the German princes upon the Rhine. A voluntary paſſage through the former was not to be expected; to force it appeared

peared dangerous and difficult; it was therefore resolved to attempt one through the latter. The petty princes upon the Rhine, it was presumed, might be corrupted with ease, or insulted with safety; but as it was necessary first to enter the territories of the duke of Lorrain, whose concurrence Lewis thought it impossible to gain, on account of the memory of former injuries, he resolved to seize the dominions of a prince whom he could not hope to reconcile to his views. He accordingly gave orders, in breach of the faith of treaties, and in the height of security and peace, to the mareshal de Crequi to enter Lorrain with a powerful army. The duchy was subdued in a short time; and the duke, deprived of all his territories, took refuge in the city of Cologne.

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This enterprise, which seemed only a prelude to farther violences, gave great alarm to the continental powers, though ignorant of its final purpose: and Lewis in vain endeavoured to justify his conduct, by the allegation of dangerous intrigues at the court of Lorrain [11]. Charles II. though under no apprehensions from the ambition of the French monarch, took advantage of the general terror, in order to demand a large supply from his parliament. He informed the two houses, by the mouth of the lord-keeper Bridgeman, that both France and Holland were arming by sea and land, and that prudence dictated similar preparations to England. He urged beside, the necessity he was under, in consequence of the engagements into which he had entered by the Triple Alliance, of maintaining a respectable fleet and army, in order to enable him to preserve the tranquillity of Europe. Deceived by these representations, the commons voted a

11. *Suite de Mezeray.* Henault, vol. ii. Voltaire, ubi sup.

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ſupply of near three millions ſterling[12]; the largeſt that had ever been granted to a king of England, and ſurely for the moſt deteſtable purpoſe that ever an abuſed people voluntarily aided their prince.

But ample as this ſupply was, neither it nor the remittances from France were equal to the accumulated neceſſities of the crown. Both were loſt in the myſterious vortex of old demands and new profuſions, before a fleet of fifty ſail was ready to put to ſea. The king durſt not venture again to aſſemble the parliament; for although the treaty with France was yet a ſecret, though the nation was ſtill ignorant of his treaſonous deſigns againſt the religion and liberties of his ſubjects, the duke of York, the preſumptive heir of the crown, had at laſt declared himſelf a Catholic, A. D. 1671. and an univerſal alarm was ſpread of popery and arbitrary power. Some new expedient was, therefore, neceſſary, in order to raiſe money to complete the naval preparations; and, by the advice of ſir Thomas Clifford, one of the Cabal, who was rewarded for his pernicious counſels with a peerage, it was reſolved to ſhut the exchequer; to pay no money advanced upon the ſecurity of the funds, but to ſecure all the payments that ſhould be made by the officers of the revenue, for the public ſervice[13].

The

12. *Journals*, Oct. 24, 1670. This liberal grant is a ſufficient proof, that if Charles had acted conformable to the wiſhes of his people, he would have had no reaſon to accuſe the parliament of parſimony; and may be conſidered as a final refutation of all apologies for his conduct founded on ſuch a ſuppoſition.

13. The hardſhips attending this meaſure will better be underſtood by a ſhort explanation. It had been uſual for the bankers to carry their money to the Exchequer, where they received intereſt for it; and to advance it upon the ſecurity of the funds on which the parliament had charged their ſupplies, and out of which they were repaid, when the money was levied upon the public. One million four hundred thouſand pounds

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THE ſhutting of the Exchequer occaſioned univerſal conſternation, and even ruin in the city: the bankers failed, the merchants could not anſwer their bills, and a total ſtagnation of commerce was the conſequence. The king and his miniſters, however, ſeemed to enjoy the general confuſion and diſtreſs. Charles, in particular, was ſo much elated at being able to ſupply his wants without the aſſiſtance of parliament, and ſo confident of ſucceſs in the war with Holland, which he thought could not laſt above one campaign, that he grew perfectly regardleſs of the complaints of his ſubjects; diſcovered ſtrong ſymptoms of a deſpotic ſpirit, and exerciſed ſeveral acts of power utterly inconſiſtent with a limited government [14]. But his firſt hoſtile enterpriſe was ill calculated to encourage ſuch hopes, or ſupport ſuch arbitrary proceedings. Before the declaration of war, an inſidious and unſucceſsful attempt was made upon the Dutch Smyrna fleet, valued at near two millions ſterling, by an Engliſh ſquadron under ſir Robert Holmes. And Charles had the infamy of violating the faith of treaties, without obtaining ſuch advantage as could juſtify the meaſure on the principles of political prudence. A. D. 1672.

THOUGH the Dutch were not ignorant of the preparations of England, they never thoroughly believed they could be intended againſt them, before this act of hoſtility, which was immediately followed by a declaration of war. As Lewis had taken offence at certain inſolent ſpeeches, and pretended *medals*, Charles, after complaining of a Dutch fleet, on their own March 17.

pounds had been advanced upon the faith of the money-bills paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, when the exchequer was ſhut. R Coke, p. 168.

14. Rapin, vol. ii. fol. edit. Hume, vol. vii. Macpherſon, vol. i.

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coaſt, not ſtriking the flag to an Engliſh yacht, mentioned certain *abuſive pictures*, as a cauſe of quarrel [15]. The Dutch were at a loſs for the meaning of this laſt article, until it was diſcovered, that a portrait of Cornelius de Wit, brother to the penſionary, painted by order of certain magiſtrates of Dort, and hung up in a chamber of the town-houſe, had given occaſion to the complaint. In the back ground of that picture, were drawn ſome ſhips on fire in a harbour, which was conſtrued to be Chatham, where de Wit had really diſtinguiſhed himſelf. But little did he or his countrymen think, that an obſcure alluſion to that act of open hoſtility would rouſe the reſentment of England [16]. In a word, reaſons more falſe and frivolous were never employed to juſtify a flagrant breach of treaty.

THE French monarch, in his declaration of war, affected more dignity. He did not condeſcend to ſpecify particulars; he only pretended that the inſolence of the Hollanders had been ſuch, that it did not conſiſt with his *glory* any longer to bear it. They had incurred his diſpleaſure, and he denounced vengeance. This indignant language was ill ſuited to deliberate violence and injuſtice; but the haughty Lewis had now completed his preparations, and his ambition was flattered with the moſt promiſing views of ſucceſs.

NEVER had Europe beheld ſuch a naval and military force, or ſo extenſive a confederacy, ſince the league of Cambray, as was formed for the deſtruction of the republic of Holland. Sweden, as well as England, was detached from the Triple League, by

15. Vide *Declaration.*

16. Hume, vol. vii. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. ix.

the

the intrigues of Lewis, in order to be a check upon the emperor. The biſhop of Munſter, a warlike and rapacious prelate, was engaged by the payment of ſubſidies and the hopes of plunder to take part with France. The elector of Cologne had alſo agreed to act offenſively againſt the States; and having conſigned Bonne and other towns into the hands of Lewis, magazines were there erected, and it was propoſed to invade the United Provinces from that quarter. The combined fleet of France and England, amounting to upward of an hundred ſail, was ready to ravage their coaſts; and a French army of an hundred and twenty thouſand choice troops, commanded by the ableſt generals of the age, was preparing to enter their frontiers.

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The Dutch were in no condition to reſiſt ſuch a force, eſpecially by land. The ſecurity procured by the peace of Weſtphalia; the general tranquillity, in conſequence of that treaty; the ſubſequent connections of the States with France; the growing ſpirit of commerce; and even their wars with England, had made them neglect their military force, and throw all their ſtrength into the navy. Their very fortifications, on which they had formerly reſted their exiſtence, were ſuffered to go out of repair; and their ſmall army was ill diſciplined, and worſe commanded. The old experienced officers, who were chiefly devoted to the houſe of Orange, had been diſmiſſed during the triumph of the rigid republican party, and their place ſupplied by raw youths, the ſons or kinſmen of burgomaſters, by whoſe intereſt that party was ſupported. Theſe new officers, relying on the credit of their friends and family, paid no attention to their military duty. Some of them, it is ſaid,

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were even allowed to ſerve by deputies, to whom they aſſigned a ſmall part of their pay [17].

De Wit, now ſenſible of his error, in relying too implicitly on the faith of treaties, attempted to remedy theſe abuſes, and to raiſe a reſpectable military force for the defence of his country, in this dangerous criſis. But every propoſal which he made for that purpoſe was oppoſed by the Orange faction, who aſcribed to his miſconduct alone the defenceleſs ſtate of the republic; and their power, which had increaſed with the difficulties of the States, was become extremely formidable, by the popularity of the young prince, William III. now in the twenty-ſecond year of his age, and who had already given ſtrong indications of the great qualities, which afterward diſtinguiſhed his active life. For theſe qualities William was not a little indebted to his generous and patriotic rival, de Wit; who, conſcious of the precarious ſituation of his own party, had given the prince an excellent education, and inſtructed him in all the principles of government and ſound policy, in order to render him capable of ſerving his country, if any future emergency ſhould ever throw the government into his hands [18].

The conduct of William had hitherto been highly deſerving of approbation, and ſuch as could not fail to recommend him to his countrymen. Though encouraged by England and Brandenburgh, to which he was allied by blood, to aſpire after the ſtadtholderſhip, he had expreſſed his reſolution of depending entirely on the States for his advancement. The whole tenor of his behaviour was extremely ſuitable

17. Le Clerc. Temple. Voltaire. 18. Ibid.

to

to the genius of the Hollanders. Grave and silent, even in youth; ready to hear, and given to enquire; destitute of brilliant talents, but of a sound and steady understanding; greatly intent on business, little inclined to pleasure, he strongly engaged the hearts of all men. And the people, remembering what they owed to his family, which had so gloriously protected them against the exorbitant power of Spain, were desirous of raising him to all the authority of his ancestors; as the leader whose valour and conduct could alone deliver them from those imminent dangers with which they were threatened [19]. In consequence of this general predilection, William was appointed commander in chief of the forces of the republic, and the whole military power was put into his hands. New levies were made, and the army was completed to the number of seventy thousand men. But raw troops could not of a sudden acquire discipline or experience: and the friends of the prince were still dissatisfied, because the Perpetual Edict, by which he was excluded from the stadtholdership, was not yet revoked. The struggle between the parties continued; and by their mutual animosities, the vigour of every public measure was broken, and the execution of every project retarded. A. D. 1672.

In the meantime de Wit, whose maxim, and that of his party, it had ever been to give the navy a preference above the army, hastened the equipment of the fleet; in hopes that, by striking at first a successful blow, he might be able to inspire courage into the dismayed States, as well as to support his own declining authority. Animated by the same hopes, de Ruyter, his firm adherent, and the greatest naval

19. Le Clerc. Temple. Voltaire.

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A.D. 1672. war, and forty-four frigates and fire-ships, and sailed in quest of the enemy.

The English fleet, under the duke of York and the earl of Sandwich, had already joined the French fleet, commanded by count d'Estrees. With this junction the Dutch were unacquainted, and hoped to take signal vengeance on the English for their perfidious attempt on the Smyrna fleet. When de Ruyter
May 28. came in sight, the combined fleet, to the number of an hundred and thirty sail, lay at anchor in Soiebay. The earl of Sandwich, who had before warned the duke of the danger of being surprised in such a posture, but whose advice had been slighted as favouring of timidity, now hastened out of the bay; where the Dutch, by their fire-ships, might have destroyed the whole naval force of the two kingdoms. Though determined to conquer or perish, he so tempered his courage with prudence, that the combined fleet was evidently indebted to him for its safety. He commanded the van; and by his vigour and dispatch, gave the duke of York and d'Estrees time to disengage themselves. Meanwhile he himself, rushing into battle with the Hollanders, and presenting a front to every danger, had drawn the chief attention of the enemy. He killed Van Ghent, a Dutch admiral, and beat off his ship, after a furious engagement; he sunk another ship, which attempted to lay him aboard, and two fire-ships that endeavoured to grapple with him. Though his own ship was much shattered, and of one thousand men she carried, near six hundred lay dead on the deck, he still continued to thunder with all his artillery, and to set the enemy at defiance, until seized on by a third fire-ship more fortunate than the

two former. The ruin of his gallant ſhip was now inevitable; but although ſenſible of the conſequences of remaining on board, he refuſed to make his eſcape [20]. So deep had the duke's ſarcaſm ſunk into his mind, that a brave death, in thoſe awful moments, appeared to him the only refuge from ignominy, ſince his utmoſt efforts had not been attended with victory.

During this terrible conflict, between Van Ghent's diviſion and the earl of Sandwich, the duke of York and de Ruyter were not idle. The duke bore down upon the Dutch admiral, and fought him with ſuch fury for two hours, that of thirty-two actions in which that hoary veteran had been engaged, he declared that this was the moſt vigorouſly diſputed. Night put a ſtop to the doubtful conteſt. Next morning the duke of York thought it prudent to retire [21]. The Dutch, though much diſabled, attempted to harraſs him in his retreat: he turned upon them, and renewed the fight. Meantime ſir Joſeph Jordan, who had ſucceeded Sandwich in the command of the van, or blue diviſion, which had hitherto been only partially engaged, having gained the weather-gage of the enemy, de Ruyter fled, from a ſenſe of his danger, and was purſued by the duke to the coaſt of Holland. As the Engliſh hung cloſe on his rear, fifteen of his diſabled ſhips could only have been ſaved by a ſudden fog, which prevented all farther conſequences [22]. The French had ſcarce any ſhare in this action; and as

20. Burnet. Temple. King James, in his Memoirs, makes no mention of any diſagreement with the earl of Sandwich; but this ſilence is ſurely inſufficient to weigh againſt the general teſtimony of other cotemporary writers. It was a circumſtance not to his honour, and therefore likely to be concealed. His account of the battle ſeems in other reſpects very accurate. 21. *King James's Mem.* 22. Ibid.

back-

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backwardneſs is not their national characteriſtic, it was univerſally believed, that they had received orders to keep at a diſtance, while the Engliſh and Dutch were weakening each other: an opinion which was confirmed by all the ſubſequent engagements during the war.

It was certainly honourable for the Dutch to have fought with ſo little loſs, the combined fleet of France and England; but nothing leſs than a complete victory, and not perhaps even that, could have preſerved the credit of de Wit, or prevented the execution of thoſe ſchemes which were formed for the ruin of his country.

The king of France having divided his army, conſiſting of an hundred and twenty thouſand men, into three bodies, had put them all in motion about the beginning of May. The firſt he headed in perſon, aſſiſted by the famous Turenne: the prince of Condé led the ſecond; and Chamilli and Luxembourg, who were to act either ſeparately or conjunctly, commanded the third. The armies of the elector of Cologne and the biſhop of Munſter appeared on the other ſide of the Rhine, and divided the force and attention of the States. Too weak to defend their extenſive frontier, the Dutch troops were ſcattered into ſo many towns, that no conſiderable body appeared in the field; and yet a ſtrong garriſon was ſcarcely to be found in any fortreſs. Orſoy, Weſel, Rhimberg, and Burack, were taken almoſt as ſoon as inveſted, by the French generals. Groll ſurrendered to the biſhop of Munſter; and Lewis, to the univerſal conſternation of the Hollanders, advanced to the banks of the Rhine [23].

June 9.

23. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. ix. Henault, 1672.

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THE paſſage of that river, ſo much celebrated by the flatterers of Lewis XIV. had in it nothing extraordinary. The extreme dryneſs of the ſeaſon, in addition to the other misfortunes of the Dutch, had much diminiſhed the greateſt rivers, and rendered many of them, in ſome places, fordable. The French cavalry, animated by the preſence of their prince, and protected by a furious diſcharge of artillery, flung themſelves into the Rhine, and had only a few fathoms to ſwim: the infantry, with the king at their head, paſſed quietly over on a bridge of boats; and as only a few Dutch regiments, without any cannon, appeared on the other ſide, the danger was very ſmall [24]. June 12.

THE attempt, however, was bold, and its ſucceſs added greatly to the glory of Lewis, and to the terror of his arms. Arnheim immediately ſurrendered to Turenne; and Schenck, which had formerly ſuſtained a ſiege of nine months, was reduced by the ſame great commander, in leſs than half the number of days. Nimeguen, and a number of other towns, were delivered up on the firſt ſummons; and the prince of Orange, unable to make head againſt the victorious enemy, retired into the province of Holland with his ſmall and diſcouraged army. The progreſs of Lewis, like the courſe of an inundation, levelled every thing before it. The town and province of Utrecht ſent deputies to implore his clemency. Naerden, within nine miles of Amſterdam, was reduced by the marquis of Rochfort; and had he taken poſſeſſion of

24. Id. ibid. The notion which generally prevailed of this paſſage at Paris was, that all the French forces had paſſed the Rhine by ſwimming, in the face of an army entrenched on the other ſide, and amidſt the fire of artillery from an impregnable fortreſs called the *Tholus*. Voltaire, ubi ſup.

Muy-

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Muyden, the keys of which were delivered to ſome of his advanced parties, but recovered by the magiſtrates, when the moment of terror was over, Amſterdam itſelf muſt have fallen, and with it perhaps the republic of Holland.

But this opportunity being neglected, the States had leiſure to recollect themſelves; and the ſame ambitious vanity, which had induced the French monarch to undertake the conqueſt of the United Provinces, proved the means of their preſervation.

June 25. Lewis entered Utrecht in triumph, ſurrounded by a ſplendid court, and followed by a gallant army, all glittering with gold and ſilver. Poets and hiſtorians attended to celebrate his exploits, and tranſmit the fame of his victories to poſterity. In the courſe of a few weeks, the three provinces of Gueldres, Utrecht, and Overyſſel had ſubmitted to his arms: Frieſland and Groningen were invaded by his ally, the biſhop of Munſter; ſo that the reduction of Holland and Zealand ſeemed now only neceſſary to crown his enterpriſe. But he waſted in vain parade at Utrecht the ſeaſon proper for that purpoſe.

In the meantime, the people of the remaining provinces, inſtead of collecting courage and unanimity from the approach of danger, became ſtill more a prey to faction, and ungovernable and outrageous from their fears. They aſcribed all their misfortunes to the unhappy de Wit, whoſe prudence and patriotiſm had formerly been the object of ſuch general applauſe. Not only the bad ſtate of the army, and the ill choice of governors was imputed to him, but, as inſtances of cowardice multiplied, treachery was ſuſpected; and his former connections with France being remembered, the populace believed that he and his

his party had conſpired to betray them to their ambitious enemy. Under this apprehenſion, and perhaps from a hope of diſarming the reſentment of the king of England, the torrent of popular favour ran ſtrongly toward the prince of Orange, who, notwithſtanding his youth and inexperience, was repreſented as the only perſon able to ſave the republic. The penſionary and his partizans, however, unwilling to relinquiſh their authority, ſtill oppoſed the repeal of the Perpetual Edict; and hence the diſtracted counſels and feeble efforts of the States.

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AMSTERDAM alone, amid the general deſpondency, ſeemed to retain any degree of courage or conduct. The magiſtrates obliged the burgeſſes to keep ſtrict watch; the populace, whom want of employment might engage to mutiny, were maintained by regular pay, and armed and diſciplined for the public defence. Ships were ſtationed to guard the city by ſea; and, as a laſt reſource, the ſluices were opened, and the neighbouring country was laid under water; without regard to the fertile fields, the numerous villas, and flouriſhing villages, which were overwhelmed by the inundation [25]! All the province followed the example of the capital.

BUT the ſecurity derived from this expedient was not ſufficient to infuſe courage into the dejected States. The body of the nobles, and eleven towns, voted to ſend ambaſſadors to the hoſtile kings, in order to ſupplicate peace. They offered to ſurrender Maeſtricht, and all the frontier towns which lay beyond the limits of the Seven Provinces, and to pay a large ſum toward the expences of the war. Fortunately for the

25. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. ix. Temple's *Mem.* part ii.

republic

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A. D. 1672. Lewis, in the abſence of Turenne, liſtened to the violent counſels of his miniſter Louvois, whoſe unreaſonable demands threw the States into a deſpair that overcame their fears. The demands of Charles were not more moderate. The terms, in a word, required by the two monarchs would have deprived the commonwealth of all ſecurity, by ſea as well as by land, and have reduced it to a ſtate of perpetual dependence. Yet were the Provinces ſtill agitated by the animoſities of faction. Enraged to find their country enfeebled by party jealouſy, when its very political exiſtence was threatened, the people roſe at Dort, and forced their magiſtrates to ſign the repeal of the Perpetual Edict. Other cities followed the example, and the prince of
July 5. Orange was declared Stadtholder.

THIS revolution, ſo favourable to the defence of the republic, was followed by a lamentable tragedy. The talents and virtues of the penſionary de Wit marked him out as a ſacrifice to the vengeance of the Orange party, now triumphant. But popular fury prevented the interpoſition of power. Cornelius de Wit, the penſionary's brother, who had ſo often ſerved his country with his ſword, was accuſed by a man of an infamous character, of endeavouring to bribe him to poiſon the prince of Orange. The accuſation, though attended with the moſt improbable, and even abſurd circumſtances, was greedily received, by the credulous multitude, and even by the magiſtrates. Cornelius was cited before a court of judicature, and put to the torture, in order to extort a confeſſion of his crime. He bore with the moſt intrepid firmneſs all that cruelty could inflict: but he was ſtript notwithſtanding of his employments, and ſentenced to baniſhment for life. The penſionary,

who

who had ſupported his brother through the whole proſecution, reſolved not to deſert him in his diſgrace. He accordingly went to his priſon, on purpoſe to accompany him to the place of his exile. The ſignal was given to the populace. They broke open the priſon doors: they pulled out the two brothers; and wounded, mangled, and tore them to pieces[26]; exerciſing on their dead bodies acts of barbarity too horrid to relate. LETTER XIII. A. D. 1672.

THE maſſacre of the de Wits, by extinguiſhing for a time the animoſities of party, gave vigour and unanimity to the councils of the States. All men, from fear, inclination, or prudence, concurred in paying the moſt implicit obedience to the prince of Orange; and William, worthy of that heroic family from which he was deſcended, adopted ſentiments becoming the head of a brave and free people. He exhorted them to reject with ſcorn thoſe humiliating conditions demanded by their imperious enemies; and, by his advice, the States put an end to negociations which had ſerved only to depreſs the courage of the citizens, and delay the aſſiſtance of their allies. He ſhewed them that, aided by the advantages of their ſituation, they would ſtill be able, if they abandoned not themſelves to deſpondency, to preſerve the remaining provinces, until the other nations of Europe, made ſenſible of the common danger, could come to their relief. And he profeſſed himſelf willing to undertake their defence, provided they would ſecond his efforts with the ſame manly fortitude, which they had ſo often diſcovered under his illuſtrious predeceſſors.

THE ſpirit of the young prince ſeemed to infuſe itſelf into every breaſt. The people, who lately en-

26. *Temple's Mem.* part ii. See alſo Burnet, Baſnage, Le Clerc, and the *Gazette*, No. 704. preſerved in ſeveral Hiſtories.

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tertained only thoughts of yielding their necks to ſubjection, now bravely determined to reſiſt the haughty victor, and to defend that remnant of their native ſoil, of which neither the arms of Lewis nor the inundation of waters had as yet bereaved them. Should even the ground on which they might combat fail them, to uſe the forcible language of Hume, they were ſtill reſolved not to yield the generous ſtrife; but flying to their ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies, erect a new empire in the South of Aſia, and preſerve alive, even in the climates of ſlavery, that liberty of which Europe was unworthy [27]. They had already concerted meaſures, we are told, for executing this extraordinary reſolution; and found, that the ſhips in their harbours adequate to ſuch a voyage, were capable of carrying fifty thouſand families, or about two hundred thouſand perſons [28].

No ſooner did the confederate kings perceive the new ſpirit with which the Dutch were animated, than they bent all their efforts to corrupt the prince of Orange. They offered him the ſovereignty of the province of Holland; to be held under the protection of France and England, and ſecured againſt the invaſion of foreign enemies, as well as the revolt of his own ſubjects. But William, from motives of pru-

27. *Hiſt. Eng.* vol. vii.

28. Burnet, book ii. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. ix. The reflections of Voltaire on this ſubject are truly ingenious and ſtriking. "Amſterdam, the emporium and the magazine of Europe, ſays he, wherein commerce and the arts are cultivated by three hundred thouſand inhabitants, would ſoon, in that event, have become one vaſt moraſs. All the adjacent lands, which require immenſe expence, and many thouſands of men, to keep up their dykes, would again have been overwhelmed by that ocean from which they had been gained, leaving to Lewis XIV. only the wretched glory of having deſtroyed one of the fineſt, and moſt extraordinary monuments of human induſtry." Id. ibid.

dence,

dence, if not patriotiſm, rejected all ſuch propoſals. He was ſenſible that the ſeaſon of danger was over, and that the power which he already enjoyed by the ſuffrage of his countrymen, was both more honourable and leſs precarious, than that which muſt depend on princes, who had already ſacrificed their faith to their ambition. He therefore declared, that he would ſoner retire, if all his endeavours ſhould fail, and paſs his life in hunting on his lands in Germany, than betray the truſt repoſed in him, by ſelling the liberties of his country [29]. And when aſked, in a haughty tone, if he did not ſee that his country was already ruined, he firmly replied, "There is one way, by "which I can be certain never to ſee the ruin of my "country; and that is, to die in diſputing the laſt "ditch [30]!"

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A. D. 1672.

THE Dutch, however, were much diſappointed in finding, that the elevation of the prince of Orange to the dignity of Stadtholder had no influence on the meaſures of his uncle, the king of England. Charles perſiſted in his alliance with France. But other circumſtances ſaved the republic. When the hoſtile fleets approached the coaſt of Holland, with an army on board commanded by count Schomberg, they were carried back to ſea in ſo wonderful a manner, and afterward prevented from landing the forces by ſuch ſtormy weather, that Providence was believed to have interpoſed miraculouſly to prevent the ruin of the Hollanders [31]; and Lewis, finding that his enemies gathered courage behind their inundations, and that no farther progreſs was likely to be made by his arms during the campaign, had retired to Verſailles, in order to enjoy the glory of his ſucceſs, which was pom-

29. *Temple's Mem.* part ii. 30. Burnet, book ii.
31. Id. ibid.

pouſly

PART II. A. D. 1673. pouſly diſplayed in poems, orations, and triumphal arches. Meanwhile the other ſtates of Europe began to diſcover a jealouſy of the power of France. The emperor, though naturally ſlow, had put himſelf in motion; the elector of Brandenburg ſhewed a diſpoſition to ſupport the States; the king of Spain had ſent ſome forces to their aſſiſtance; and, by the vigorous efforts of the prince of Orange, and the proſpect of relief from their allies, a different face of affairs began ſoon to appear.

Of all their friends or allies there was none on whom the Dutch relied more firmly for relief than the Engliſh parliament, which the king's neceſſities obliged him at laſt to convene. But that aſſembly
Feb 4. was too much occupied with domeſtic grievances to have leiſure to attend to foreign politics. Charles, among his other arbitrary meaſures, had iſſued a general Declaration of Indulgence in religious matters, by which the Catholics were placed on the ſame footing with the Proteſtant ſectaries. The purpoſe of this meaſure was eaſily foreſeen, and excited a general alarm. A remonſtrance was framed againſt ſuch an exerciſe of prerogative: the king defended his meaſure; and the hopes and fears of all men were ſuſpended, in regard to the iſſue of ſo extraordinary an affair. Beſide his uſual guards, the king had an army encamped on Blackheath, under the command of marſhal Schomberg, a foreigner. Many of his officers were of the Catholic religion; and he had reaſon to expect that his ally, the king of France, would ſupply him with troops, if force ſhould become neceſſary for reſtraining his diſcontented ſubjects, and ſupporting the meaſures they had, by common conſent, agreed to purſue.

But

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But Charles, although encouraged by his miniſters to proceed, was ſtartled when he approached the dangerous precipice; and the ſame love of eaſe which had led him to deſire arbitrary power, induced him to retract the Declaration of Indulgence, when he ſaw how much hazard and difficulty there would be in maintaining it. He accordingly called for the writing, and broke the ſeals with his own hand[32]. But the parliament, though highly ſatisfied with this compliance, thought another ſtep neceſſary for the ſecurity of their civil and religious liberties. They paſſed an act called the Test: by which all perſons, holding any public office, beſides taking the oaths of ſupremacy and allegiance, and receiving the ſacrament according to the rites of the church of England, were obliged to abjure the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation. Even to this bill the king gave his aſſent; and the parliament, in recompence for theſe conceſſions, granted him a conſiderable ſupply for his *extraordinary occaſions*, as they expreſſed themſelves, diſdaining to mention a war which they abhorred[33].

A.D. 1673.

March 15.

But Charles, though baffled in his favourite project, and obliged tacitly to relinquiſh the diſpenſing power of the crown, was ſtill reſolved to perſevere in his alliance with France; in the Dutch war, and conſequently in all the ſecret deſigns which depended on ſuch pernicious meaſures. With the money granted by parliament he was enabled to equip a fleet, the command of which was given to prince Rupert, the duke of York being ſet aſide by the Teſt. Sir Edward

32. Echard. Burnet. Rapin. The people were ſo much elated at this victory over the prerogative, that they expreſſed with bonfires and illuminations their tumultuous joy. Ibid.

33. Journals, March 1673. Echard, vol. iii. Burnet, book iii.

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Sprague and the earl of Oſſory commanded under the prince. A French ſquadron joined them, commanded by d'Eſtrees and Martel.

THE combined fleet ſailed toward the coaſt of Holland, where three indeciſive battles were fought with the Dutch, under de Ruyter and Van Tromp. The laſt, however, claims our attention on account of its obſtinacy. Tromp immediately fell along the ſide of Sprague, and both engaged with incredible obſtinacy. Tromp was compelled once to ſhift his flag, Sprague twice to quit his ſhip; and, unfortunately, as the Engliſh admiral was paſſing to a third ſhip, in order to hoiſt his flag, and renew the diſpute, a ſhot ſtruck his boat, and he was drowned, to the regret even of his enemies. But the death of this gallant officer did not paſs unrevenged. Van Tromp, after the diſaſter of Sprague, was repulſed, in ſpite of his moſt vigorous efforts, by the intrepidity of the earl of Oſſory [34].

IN the mean time a furious combat was maintained between de Ruyter and prince Rupert. Never did the prince acquire more deſerved honour; his conduct being no leſs conſpicuous than his valour, which ſhone with diſtinguiſhed luſtre. The conteſt was equally obſtinate on both ſides, and victory remained long doubtful. At length prince Rupert threw the enemy into ſome confuſion; and, in order to increaſe it, ſent among them two fire-ſhips. They at once took to flight; and had the French, who were maſters of the wind, and to whom a ſignal was made, borne down upon the Dutch, a decided advantage would have been

34. Carte's *Life of the Duke of Ormond.* Burchet, p. 404.

gained.

gained. But they paid no regard to the ſignal. The Engliſh, ſeeing themſelves neglected by their allies, therefore gave over the purſuit; and de Ruyter, with little loſs, made good his retreat [35]. The victory, as uſual, was claimed by both ſides. LETTER XII. A.D. 1673.

WHILE the Dutch, my dear Philip, thus continued to defend themſelves with vigour by ſea, fortune was ſtill more favourable to them by land. Though the French monarch took Maeſtricht, one of their ſtrongeſt bulwarks, after a ſiege of thirteen days, no other advantage was obtained during the campaign. Naerden was retaken by the prince of Orange; and the Imperialiſts, under Montecuculi, after having in vain attempted againſt Turenne the paſſage of the Rhine, eluded the vigilance of that able general, and ſat down ſuddenly before Bonne. The prince of Orange, by a conduct no leſs maſterly, leaving behind him the other French generals, joined his army to that of the empire. Bonne ſurrendered, after a ſhort ſiege. The greater part of the electorate of Cologne was ſubdued by the Dutch and Germans; and the communication between France and the United Provinces being by that means cut off, Lewis was obliged to recall his forces, and abandon his conqueſts with the utmoſt precipitation [36]. The very monuments of his glory were not completed, when he returned in diſgrace: the triumphal arch at the gate of St. Denis was yet unfiniſhed, after all cauſe of triumph had ceaſed [37]! June 29. Nov 12?

A CONGRESS, under the mediation of Sweden, held at Cologne during the ſummer, was attended

35. Burchet. Baſnage. Echard. Kennet.
36. Henault, 1674.
37. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. x.

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with no ſucceſs. The demands of the confederate kings were originally ſuch as muſt have reduced the Hollanders to perpetual ſervitude; and although they ſunk in their demands, in proportion as the affairs of the States roſe, the States ſunk ſtill lower in their offers: ſo that it was found impoſſible for the parties, without ſome remarkable change of fortune, ever to agree on any conditions. After the French evacuated Holland, the congreſs broke up. No longer anxious for their ſafety, the States were now bent on revenge. Their negociations at the courts of Vienna and Madrid were approaching to a happy concluſion. The houſe of Auſtria in both its branches was alarmed at the ambition of Lewis XIV. and the emperor and the Catholic king publicly ſigned a treaty with the United Provinces before the cloſe of the year. Forgetting her ancient animoſities againſt the republic, in the recent injuries, which ſhe had received from the French monarch, Spain immediately iſſued a declaration of war; and by a ſtrange reverſe in her policy, defended the Dutch againſt France and England, by whoſe aid they had become independent of her power!

THE boundleſs ambition of Lewis XIV. together with the dark deſigns and mercenary meanneſs of Charles II. which led him to a cloſe alliance with France, had totally changed the ſyſtem of European policy. But a run of events, which it was not in the power of the confederate kings to reverſe, at laſt brought things back to what is now eſteemed their natural order. The firſt of theſe events was the peace between England and Holland.

WHEN the Engliſh parliament met, the commons diſcovered ſuch ſtrong ſymptoms of diſcontent at the late meaſures of government, that the king perceiving he could

could expect no supply for carrying on the war, asked their advice in regard to peace. Both houses thanked him for his condescension, and unanimously concurred in their advice for a negociation. Peace was accordingly concluded with Holland, by the marquis de Fresno, the Spanish ambassador at the court of London, who had powers for that purpose, and added the influence of his own court to the other reasons which had obliged Charles to listen to terms. The conditions, though little advantageous, were by no means degrading to England. The honour of the flag was relinquished by the Dutch; all possessions were mutually restored; new regulations of trade were made, and the republic agreed to pay the king near three hundred thousand pounds toward reimbursing the expence of the war 38. Charles bound himself to the States, by a secret article, not to allow the English troops in the French service to be recruited; but would not agree to recall them. They amounted to ten thousand men, and had greatly contributed to the rapid success of Lewis 39.

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A. D. 1674 Jan. 24.

THOUGH the peace with Holland relieved the king from many of his difficulties, it did not restore him to the confidence of his people, nor allay the jealousy of the parliament. Sensible of this jealousy, Charles, who had always been diffident of the attachment of his subjects, still kept up his connexions with France. He apologized to Lewis for the step he had taken, by representing the real state of his affairs; and the French monarch, with great com-

38. *Articles of Peace* in the *Journals of the Lords*.

39. Hume, vol. vii. The king's partiality to France prevented a strict execution of his engagement relative to the recruiting of these troops. Id. Ibid. See also Dalrymple's *Append.*

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plaiſance and good humour, admitted the validity of his excuſes. In order ſtill farther to atone for deſerting his ally, Charles offered his mediation to the contending powers.

WILLING to negociate under ſo favourable a mediator, the king of France readily acceded to the offer. As it was apprehended, however, that, for a like reaſon, the allies would be inclined to refuſe it, Sir William Temple, whoſe principles were known to be favourable to the general intereſts of Europe, was invited from his retreat, and appointed ambaſſador from England to the States. Temple accepted the office. But reflecting on the unhappy iſſue of his former fortunate negociations, and on the fatal turn of counſels which had occaſioned it, he reſolved, before he ſet out on his embaſſy, to acquaint himſelf, as far as poſſible, with the king's real ſentiments in regard to thoſe popular meaſures which he ſeemed to have reſumed. He therefore took occaſion, at a private audience, to blame the dangerous ſchemes of the Cabal, as well as their flagrant breach of the moſt ſolemn treaties[40]. And when the king ſeemed diſpoſed to vindicate their meaſures, but blamed the means exployed to carry them into execution, that excellent miniſter, no leſs prudent than patriotic, endeavoured to ſhew his ſovereign how difficult, if not impoſſible, it would be, to introduce into England the ſame ſyſtem of religion and government that was

40. The Cabal was now in a manner diſſolved. Clifford was dead: and Aſhly, created earl of Shafteſbury, had gone over to the popular party, in order to avoid the danger of an impeachment, when he found the king wanted courage to ſupport his miniſters in thoſe meaſures which he had himſelf dictated. Buckingham, in conſequence of his wavering and inconſiſtent conduct, was become of ſmall account; but Lauderdale and Arlington were ſtill of ſome weight.

eſtabliſhed

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eſtabliſhed in France; that the univerſal bent of the nation was againſt both; that many, who appeared indifferent in regard to all religions, would yet oppoſe the introduction of popery, as they were ſenſible it could not be effected without military force, and that the ſame force, which ſhould enable the king to bring about ſuch a change, would alſo make him maſter of their civil liberties; that, in France, it was only neceſſary for a king to gain the nobility and clergy, as the peaſants, having no land, were as inſignificant as our women and children:—Whereas, in England, a great part of the landed property was in the hands of the yeomanry or lower gentry, whoſe hearts were high with eaſe and plenty, while the inferior orders in France were diſpirited by oppreſſion and want; that a king of England, ſince the abolition of the feudal policy, could neither raiſe nor maintain an army, except by the voluntary ſupplies of his parliament; that granting he had an army on foot, yet, if compoſed of Engliſhmen, it would never be induced to ſerve ends which the people ſo much hated and feared; that the Roman catholics in England were not the hundredth part of the nation, and in Scotland not the two hundredth; and it ſeemed againſt all common ſenſe to hope, by any one part, to govern ninety-nine, who were of different humours and ſentiments; that foreign troops, if few, would ſerve only to inflame hatred and diſcontent; and how to bring over at once, and maintain many (for no leſs than threeſcore thouſand would be neceſſary, to ſubdue the ſpirit and liberties of the nation), was very hard to imagine [41].

THESE reaſonings Temple endeavoured to enforce by the authority of Gourville, a French ſtateſman,

41. *Temple's Mem.* part ii. chap. i.

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who had reſided ſome time in England, and for whoſe judgment he knew Charles had great reſpect. "A "king of England," ſaid Gourville, on hearing of our diſſenſions, "who will be the MAN of his *People* "is the greateſt king in the world; but if he will be "ſomething more, by God! he is nothing at all." The king, who had liſtened with impatience at firſt, ſeemed now open to conviction; and laying his hand on Temple's, ſaid with an air of ſincerity—"And I "will be the MAN of *my People* 42!"

WHEN Temple went abroad, he found a variety of circumſtances likely to defeat the purpoſe of his embaſſy. The allies in general, independent of their jealouſy of Charles's mediation, expreſſed great ardour for the continuance of the war. Spain had engaged Holland to ſtipulate never to come to an accommodation, until all things in Flanders were reſtored to the ſame ſituation in which they were left by the Pyrenean treaty; the emperor had high pretenſions on Alſace; and although the Dutch, oppreſſed by heavy taxes, might be deſirous of peace, they could not, without violating all the principles of honour and policy, abandon thoſe allies to whoſe protection they had ſo lately been indebted for their ſafety. The prince of Orange, who had vaſt influence in their councils, and in whoſe family they had juſt decreed the office of ſtadtholder to be perpetual, was beſide ambitious of military fame, and convinced, That it would be in vain to negociate till a greater impreſſion was made upon France, as no equitable terms could otherwiſe be expected from Lewis 43. The operations of the enſuing campaign did not contribute to this effect.

42. Id. ibid. 43. Temple, ubi. ſup. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. x.

THE

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A. D. 1674.

LEWIS XIV. aſtoniſhed all Europe by the vigour of his exertions. He had three great armies in the field this ſummer: one on the ſide of Germany, one in Flanders, and one on the frontiers of Rouſſillon; and he himſelf, at the head of a fourth, entered Franche Comté, and ſubdued the whole province in ſix weeks. The taking of Beſançon was matter of great triumph to the French monarch. He loved ſieges, and is ſaid to have underſtood them well; but he never beſieged a town without being morally certain of taking it. Louvois prepared all things ſo effectually, the troops were ſo well appointed, and Vauban, who conducted moſt of the ſieges, was ſo great a maſter in the art of taking towns, that the king's glory was perfectly ſafe. Vauban directed the attacks at Beſançon, which was reduced in nine days, and became the capital of the province; the univerſity and the ſeat of government being transferred to it from Dole [44].

NOTHING of importance happened in Rouſſillon: but in Flanders the prince of Condé, with an inferior army, prevented the prince of Orange from entering France by that quarter; and, after long avoiding an engagement, from motives of prudence, he attacked the rear of the confederates, when an opportunity offered, in a narrow defile near Seneffe, a village between Marimont and Nivelle; threw them into confuſion, and took great part of their cannon and baggage. The prince of Orange, however, leſs remarkable for preventing misfortune than for ſtopping its progreſs, rallied his diſordered forces, led them back to the charge; puſhed the veteran troops of France; and obliged the great Condé to exert more deſperate efforts, and hazard his perſon more than in any action during his life, though now in an advanced age, and

44. Id. ibid. Henaült, 1574.

though

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though he had been peculiarly diſtinguiſhed in youth by the impetuoſity of his courage. William did not expoſe his perſon leſs. Hence the generous and candid teſtimony of Condé, forgetful of his own behaviour: "The prince of Orange has acted in every "thing like an old captain, except in venturing his "life too much like a young ſoldier 45."

THE engagement was renewed three ſeveral times; and, after ſun-ſet, it was continued for two hours by the light of the moon. Darkneſs at laſt, not the ſlackneſs of the combatants, put an end to the conteſt, and left the victory undecided 46. Twelve thouſand men lay dead on the field, and the loſs on both ſides was nearly equal 47. In order to give an air of ſuperiority to the allies, and to bring the French to a new engagement, the prince of Orange beſieged Oudenarde; but Souches, the imperial general, not being willing to hazard a battle, he was obliged to relinquiſh his enterpriſe, on the approach of Condé. Before the cloſe of the campaign, however, after an obſtinate ſiege, he took Grave, the laſt town which the French held in any of the Seven Provinces 48.

TURENNE, who commanded on the ſide of Germany, completed that high reputation which he had already acquired, of being the greateſt general of his age and nation. By a long and haſty march, in order to prevent the junction of the different bodies of German troops, he paſſed the Rhine at Philipſburg, and defeated the old duke of Lorrain and Caprara, the imperial general, at Sintzheim. With twenty thouſand men, he poſſeſſed himſelf of the whole Palatinate, by driving the allied princes beyond the Neckar and the

45. *Temple's Mem.* part ii. chap. i.
46. Id. ibid.
47. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xi.
48. Temple, ubi. ſup.

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Maine. They returned however, during his abſence in Lorrain, with a prodigious army, and poured into Alſace, where they meant to paſs the winter. He came back upon them unexpectedly; routed the Imperialiſts at Mulhauſen, and chaſed from Colmar the elector of Brandenburg, who commanded the troops of the allied princes. He gained a farther advantage at Turkheim; and having diſlodged all the Germans, obliged them to repaſs the Rhine. But the glory of ſo many victories was ſtained by the cruelties committed in the Palatinate; where the elector beheld, from his caſtle at Manheim, two cities and five and twenty towns in flames 49, and where luſt and rapine walked hand in hand with fire and ſword. Stung with rage and revenge at ſuch a ſpectacle, he challenged Turenne to ſingle combat. The mareſchal coolly replied, that he could not accept ſuch a challenge without his maſter's leave; but was ready to meet the Palatine in the field, at the head of his army, againſt any which that prince and his new allies could bring together 50. A.D. 1674.

THESE events inſpired the people of England with the moſt melancholy apprehenſions, but gave ſincere ſatisfaction to the court; and Charles, at the requeſt of the king of France, prorogued the parliament, which was to have met on the 10th of October, to the 13th of April in the following year, leſt the commons ſhould force him to take part with the United Provinces. One hundred thouſand pounds was the price of this prorogation 51.

LEWIS, notwithſtanding his ſucceſſes, was alarmed at the number of his enemies; and therefore, beſide

49. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xi. 50. *Temple's Mem.* part ii.
51. *Dalrymple's Append.* Macpherſon, *Hiſt. Brit.* chap. iv.

pur-

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purchaſing the neutrality of England, he endeavoured, though in vain, to negociate a peace with Holland. The events of the next campaign ſhewed that his fears were well founded. Though he made vaſt preparations, and entered Flanders with a numerous army, commanded by himſelf and the prince of Condé, he was able to gain no advantage of any conſequence over the prince of Orange, who oppoſed him in all his motions. Neither party was willing, without ſome peculiarly favourable circumſtance, to hazard a general engagement; which might be attended with the utter loſs of Flanders, if victory declared for the French, and with the invaſion of France, if the king ſhould be defeated. Diſguſted at his want of ſucceſs, Lewis returned to Verſailles about the end of July, and nothing memorable happened in the Low Countries during the campaign.

THE campaign was ſtill leſs favourable to France in other quarters. Turenne was oppoſed, on the ſide of Germany, by his celebrated rival Montecuculi, who commanded the forces of the empire. The object of Montecuculi was to paſs the Rhine, and penetrate into Alſace, Lorrain, or Burgundy; that of Turenne, to guard the frontiers of France, and diſappoint the ſchemes of his antagoniſt. The moſt conſummate ſkill was diſplayed on both ſides. Both had reduced war to a ſcience, and each was enabled to diſcover the deſigns of the other by judging what he himſelf would have done in like circumſtances. Turenne, by poſting himſelf on the German ſide of the Rhine, was enabled not only to keep Montecuculi from paſſing that river, but to ſeize any opportunity that fortune might preſent. Such a happy moment he thought he had diſcerned, and was preparing to take advantage of it, by bringing the Germans to a deciſive engagement, and

and his own generalſhip and that of Montecuculi to a final trial, when a period was put to his life by a cannon-ball, as he was viewing the poſition of the enemy, and taking meaſures for erecting a battery 52. LETTER XIII. A.D. 1675.

THE conſternation of the French on the loſs of their general was inexpreſſible. The ſame troops that a moment before were aſſured of victory, now thought of nothing but flight. A diſpute relative to the command between the count de Lorges, nephew to Turenne, and the marquis de Vaubrun, was added to their grand misfortune. They retreated: Montecuculi preſſed them hard; but, by the valour of the Engliſh auxiliaries, who brought up the rear, and the abilities of de Lorges, who inherited a conſiderable ſhare of the genius of his uncle, they were enabled to repaſs the Rhine, without much loſs. Leaving the army in Flanders, under the command of Luxembourg, the prince of Condé came with a reinforcement to ſupply the place of Turenne; and though he was not perhaps, in all reſpects, equal to that conſummate general, he not only prevented the Germans from eſtabliſhing themſelves in Alſace, but obliged them to repaſs the Rhine, and take winter-quarters in their own country 53.

BEFORE the arrival of Condé, however, a detachment from the German army had been ſent to the ſiege of Treves; an enterpriſe which the allies had greatly at heart. In the mean time the mareſchal de Crequi advanced with a French army to the relief of the place. The Germans, whom he deſpiſed, leaving part of their forces in the lines, advanced to meet

52. *Temple's Mem.* part ii. chap. i. Henault, 1675. Voltaire, *Siecle* chap. xi. 53. Id. ibid.

him

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him with the main body, under the dukes of Zell and Oznabrug, and totally routed him. He eſcaped with only four attendants, and throwing himſelf into Treves, determined to periſh rather than ſurrender the town. But the garriſon, after a gallant defence, reſolving not to fall a ſacrifice to his obſtinacy, capitulated for themſelves; and becauſe he refuſed to ſign the articles, they delivered him into the hands of the enemy [54].

THE king of Sweden, who had been induced by the payment of large ſubſidies to take part with France, was ſtill more unfortunate this campaign than Lewis. The Dutch, the Spaniards, the Danes, became at once his enemies. He was defeated by the elector of Brandenburg, whoſe territories he had invaded, and loſt all Pomerania. Bremerfurt was taken by the troops of Brunſwic-Lunenburg; Wolgaſt, by thoſe of Brandenburg; and Wiſmar fell into the hands of the Danes [55].

IT was now the criſis for the king of England by a vigorous concurrence with the allies, to have regained the confidence of his people and the reſpect of all Europe. He might have ſet bounds for ever to the power of France, and have been the happy inſtrument of preventing all thoſe long and bloody wars, which were occaſioned by the diſputes in regard to the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, as well as thoſe which have been the conſequence of a prince of the houſe of Bourbon being eſtabliſhed on the throne of Spain. Charles was not ignorant of the importance of his ſituation; but, inſtead of taking advantage of it, to reſtrain the ambition of Lewis XIV. he thought only of acquiring

54. Voltaire, ubi ſup.

55. *Mem. de Brandenburg.*

money

money to ſquander upon his pleaſures, by ſelling his neutrality to that monarch! A new ſecret treaty was accordingly concluded between the two kings, by which they obliged themſelves to enter into no treaties without mutual conſent; and in which Charles farther ſtipulates, in conſideration of an annual penſion, to prorogue or diſſolve his parliament, ſhould it attempt to force him to declare war againſt France 56. LETTER XIII. A.D. 1676.

THUS ſecure of the neutrality of England, Lewis made vigorous preparations for carrying on the war in Flanders, and was early in the field in perſon. He laid ſiege to Condé in the month of April, and took it by ſtorm. Buchaine fell into his hands by the middle of May; the prince of Orange, who was ill ſupported by his allies, not daring to attempt its relief, on account of the advantageous poſition of the French army. After facing each other for ſome time, the two

56. Rouvigny to Lewis XIV. Jan. 9, and Feb. 27, 1676, in *Dalrymple's Append.* The proofs that Charles was a penſioner of France, do not reſt ſolely upon theſe Letters. They are alſo to be found in *King James's Mem.* and the *Danby Papers.* Bolingbroke ſeems to have been perfectly acquainted with them; and very juſtly obſerves, That Charles II. by this meanneſs, whatever might be his motives for ſubmitting to it, "eſtabliſhed the ſuperiority of France in Europe." (*Letters on the Study of Hiſtory.*) Unprincipled as the miniſters of Charles were, it is with pleaſure that we learn from Rouvigny's diſpatches, not one of them heartily concurred in this infamous treaty. "Hence," ſays he to his maſter, "your majeſty will plainly ſee, that *in all England*, there is *only* the "*king* and the *duke* of *York*, who *embrace* your *intereſts* with *affection!*" (Feb. 27, 1676.) And in a future letter he adds, in confirmation of this ſingular exception, "I can anſwer for it to your majeſty, that there are "none of your *own ſubjects* who *wiſh* you *better ſucceſs*, in *all your under-takings*, than *theſe two princes*; but it is alſo true, that you cannot "*count* upon any, but theſe *two friends*, in *all England!*" (Jan. 28, 1677.) The ambaſſador's only fear therefore was, that Charles might be "*drawn* "into the *ſentiments* of his *people!*" And the PENSION was eſteemed a neceſſary "*new tye*," to bind him to the *intereſts* of *France*. Rouvigny, ubi ſup.

armies

PART II. A. D. 1676.

armies withdrew to a greater diſtance, as if by mutual conſent, neither chuſing to hazard an engagement. The king of France, with his uſual avidity of praiſe, and want of perſeverance, returned to Verſailles, leaving the command of his army to Mareſchal Schomberg: and the prince of Orange, on the departure of Lewis, laid ſiege to Maeſtricht. The trenches were opened toward the end of July, and many deſperate aſſaults made, and ſeveral outworks taken; but all without effect. The place made a gallant defence; ſickneſs broke out in the confederate army; and on the approach of Schomberg, who had already taken Aire, the prince of Orange was obliged to abandon his enterpriſe 57. The taking of Philipſburg, by the Imperialiſts, was the only ſucceſs that attended the arms of the allies during the campaign.

FRANCE was no leſs ſucceſsful by ſea than by land. Lewis XIV. had very early diſcovered an ambition of forming a powerful navy: and during the war between England and Holland, in which he was engaged, his ſubjects had acquired in perfection the art of ſhip-building, as well as the moſt approved method of conducting ſea-engagements, by means of ſignals, ſaid to have been invented by the duke of York. An accidental circumſtance now afforded Lewis an opportunity of diſplaying his naval ſtrength, to the aſtoniſhment and terror of Europe.

MESSINA in Sicily had revolted from Spain; and a French fleet, under the duke de Vivonne, was ſent to ſupport the citizens in their rebellion. A Dutch and Spaniſh ſquadron failed to oppoſe Vivonne; but, after an obſtinate combat, Meſſina was relieved by

57. *Temple's Memoirs*, part ii.

the French. Another engagement enſued near Auguſta, rendered famous by the death of the gallant de Ruyter, and in which the French had alſo the advantage. A third battle, more deciſive than any of the former, was fought off Palermo. The combined fleet, to the number of twenty-ſeven ſhips of the line, nineteen gallies, and four fire-ſhips, was drawn up in a line without the mole, and under cover of the fortifications. The diſpoſition was good, and the appearance formidable; yet Vivonne, or rather du Queſne, who commanded under him, and was a great naval officer, did not heſitate to venture an attack with a ſquadron inferior in ſtrength. The battle was ſuſtained with great vigour on both ſides; until the French, taking advantage of a favourable wind, ſent ſome fire-ſhips in among the enemy. All was now confuſion and terror. Twelve capital ſhips were ſunk, burnt, or taken; five thouſand men loſt their lives; and the French, riding undiſputed maſters of the Mediterranean, endangered the total revolt of Naples and Sicily 58. LETTER XIII. A.D. 1674.

A CONGRESS had been opened at Nimeguen in the beginning of the year; but no progreſs, it was found, could be made in negociation, till the war had taken a more deciſive turn. The diſappointment of the allies, in the events of the campaign, had now much damped their ſanguine hopes; and the Hollanders, on whom the whole weight of the war lay, ſeeing no proſpect of a general pacification, began to entertain thoughts of concluding a ſeparate treaty with France. They were loaded with debts and harraſſed with taxes; their commerce languiſhed; and, excluſive of the diſadvantages attending all leagues, the weakneſs of

58. Le Clerc. vol. ii. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xii.

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the Spaniards, and the diviſions and delays of the Germans, prognoſticated nothing but diſgrace and ruin. They themſelves had no motive for continuing the war, beſide a deſire of ſecuring a good frontier to Flanders; yet gratitude to their allies inclined them to try, whether another campaign might not produce a peace that would give general ſatisfaction. And the prince of Orange, actuated by ambition and animoſity againſt France, endeavoured to animate them to a ſteady perſeverance in their honourable reſolution.

In the mean time the eyes of all parties were turned toward England. Charles II. was univerſally allowed to be the arbiter of Europe; and no terms of peace which he would have preſcribed could have been refuſed by any of the contending powers. The Spaniards believed, that he would never ſuffer Flanders to be ſubdued by France; or, if he could be ſo far loſt to his own intereſt, that the parliament would force him to take part with the confederates 59. The parliament was at laſt aſſembled, in order to appeaſe the murmurs of the people, after a receſs of upward of twelve months. Diſputes about their own rights engaged the peers for a time, and the commons proceeded with temper, in taking into conſideration the ſtate of the navy, which the king had recommended to their attention. Every thing ſeemed to promiſe a peaceable and eaſy ſeſſion. But the rapid and unexpected progreſs of the French arms ſoon diſturbed this tranquillity, and directed to other objects the deliberations of both houſes.

A. D. 1677. Feb. 15.

Lewis having previouſly formed large magazines in Flanders, had taken the field in February. Attend-

59. *Temple's Mem.* part ii. chap. ii.

ed

ed by his brother the duke of Orleans, his miniſter Louvois, Vauban, and five mareſchals of France, he undertook the ſiege of Valenciennes; and by the judicious advice of Vauban, who recommended an aſſault to be made in the morning, when it would be leaſt expected, in preference to the night, the uſual time for ſuch attempts, the place was carried by ſurpriſe [60]. Cambray ſurrendered after a ſhort ſiege; and St. Omers was cloſely inveſted, when the prince of Orange, with an army haſtily aſſembled, marched to its relief. The ſiege was covered by the dukes of Orleans and Luxembourg; and as the prince was determined to endeavour to raiſe it, be the conſequences what they might, an obſtinate battle was fought at Mont Caſſel; where, by a ſuperior movement of Luxemboug, William was defeated, in ſpite of his moſt vigorous efforts, and obliged to retire to Ypres. His behaviour was gallant, and his retreat maſterly; but St. Omers ſubmitted to the arms of France [61].

A. D. 1677. March 17. April 11.

JUSTLY alarmed at ſuch extraordinary ſucceſs, the Engliſh parliament preſented an addreſs to the king, repreſenting the danger to which the kingdom was expoſed from the greatneſs of France, and praying that he would form ſuch alliances as ſhould both ſecure his own dominions and the Spaniſh Netherlands, and thereby quiet the fears of his people. The king returned an evaſive anſwer, and the commons thought it neceſſary to be more particular. They entreated him to interpoſe immediately in favour of the confederates; and, in caſe a war with

60. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xii.

61. *Temple's Mem.* part ii. chap. ii. In attempting to rally his diſperſed troops, the prince ſtruck one of the runaways acroſs the face with his ſword. "Raſcal!"—cried he, "I will ſet a mark on you at preſent, "that I may hang you afterward." Id. ibid.

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France ſhould be the conſequence of ſuch interference, they promiſed to ſupport him with all neceſſary aids and ſupplies. Charles, in his anſwer, artfully expreſſed his deſire of being *firſt* put in a *condition* to *accompliſh* the *deſign* of their *addreſs*. This was underſtood as a demand for money; but the commons were too well acquainted with the king's connexions with France, to hazard their money in expectation of alliances which they believed would never be formed, if the ſupplies were granted before hand. Inſtead of a ſupply, they therefore voted an addreſs, in which "they beſought his majeſty to enter into a league, "*offenſive*, and *defenſive*, with the States General of the "United Provinces, againſt the growth and power "of the French king, and for the preſervation of the "Spaniſh Netherlands; and to make ſuch other alli-"ances with the confederates as ſhould appear fit and "uſeful for that end[62]." They ſupported their advice with arguments; and concluded with aſſuring the king, that when he ſhould be pleaſed to declare ſuch an alliance in parliament, they would moſt chearfully ſupport his meaſures with plentiful and ſpeedy ſupplies. Pretending reſentment at this addreſs, as an encroachment on his prerogative, Charles made an angry ſpeech to the commons, and ordered the parliament to be adjourned.

HAD the king, my dear Philip, been prompted to this meaſure (as an author, no wiſe prejudiced againſt him, very juſtly obſerves) by a real jealouſy of his prerogative, it might merit ſome applauſe, as an indication of vigour; but when we are made acquainted with the motives that produced it, when we know that it proceeded from his ſecret engagements with

62. Journals, May, 25, 1677.

France,

France, and his diſappointment in not obtaining a large ſum to diſſipate upon his pleaſures, it furniſhes a new inſtance of that want of ſincerity which diſgraced the character of Charles 63. When he thus urged the commons to ſtrengthen his hands for war, he had actually ſold his neutrality to France, as I have already had occaſion to notice; and had he obtained the ſupply required for that end, he would no doubt have found expedients to ſcreen his conduct, without entering into war, or even breaking off his private correſpondence with Lewis. But to make an *offenſive* and *defenſive alliance* with the *Confederates* the *condition* of a *ſupply*, he foreſaw would deprive him of the *ſecret ſubſidy*, and throw him upon the mercy of his commons, whoſe confidence he had deſervedly loſt, and whoſe ſpirit he was deſirous to ſubdue Conſidering *his* views, and the engagements *he* had formed, he acted with prudence; but both were unworthy of a king of England.

LETTER XII

A. D. 1667.

WHILE Charles, lolling in the lap of pleaſure, or waſting his time in thoughtleſs jollity, was thus ingloriouſly ſacrificing the honour of his kingdom and the intereſts of Europe, in conſideration of a contemptible penſion from a prince to whom he might have given law, the eyes of his ſubjects were anxiouſly turned toward the political ſituation of the contending powers, and the events of the campaign. In Spain, domeſtic faction had been added to the other misfortunes of a kingdom long declining, through the weakneſs of her councils, and the general corruption of her people. Don John of Auſtria, natural ſon of Philip IV. had taken arms againſt the queen-regent, and advanced toward Madrid; and although, diſap-

63. Macpherſon, *Hiſt. Brit.* chap. i

PART II. A. D. 1677.

pointed in his expectations of ſupport, he retured to Saragoſſa, fortune ſoon after favoured his ambition. The young king, Charles II. eſcaping from his mother, ordered her to be ſhut up in a convent at Toledo, and declared Don John prime miniſter. But the hopes entertained of his abilities were not anſwered by the event. The misfortunes of Spain increaſed on every ſide.

In Catalonia Monterey was defeated: Bracamonte loſt the battle of Forumina in the kingdom of Sicily; and Flanders, in conſequence of the capture of Valenciennes, Cambray, and St. Omers, was laid open to abſolute conqueſt. The prince of Orange, in order to atone for his defeat at Caſſel, ſat down before Charleroy; but on the appearance of the French army, under mareſchal Luxembourg, he was forced to raiſe the ſiege [64]. Williams, though poſſeſſed of conſiderable talents for war, was inferior to this experienced general; and ſeems always to have wanted that happy combination of genius and ſkill, which is neceſſary to form the great commander.

On the Upper Rhine, Charles V. duke of Lorrain, who had ſucceeded his uncle rather in the title than in the territory of that duchy, commanded a body of the allies. The prince of Saxe-Eiſinach, at the head of another army, endeavoured to enter Alſace. But the mareſchal de Crequi, with an inferior force, defeated the views of the duke of Lorrain, though an able officer. He obliged him to retire from Mentz; he hindered him from croſſing the Maeſe; he beat up his poſts, he cut off his convoys; and having gained an advantage over the allies, near Cokerſ-

64. Peliſon, tom. iii.

berg,

berg, he cloſed the campaign on that ſide with the taking of Friburg. The baron de Montclar, who defended Alſace, was no leſs ſucceſsful. After various movements, he incloſed the troops of the prince of Saxe-Eiſinach within his own, and forced them to capitulate near Straſburg [65]. The king of Sweden, however, was not equally fortunate with his illuſtrious ally: he had ſtill the worſt in the war, notwithſtanding, the taking of Elſeinbourg, and a victory gained over the king of Denmark. His fleet was twice defeated by the Danes, and the elector of Brandenburg took from him the important fortreſs of Stettin [66].

A. D. 1677.

During the rapid progreſs of the French arms in Flanders, ſerious negociations had been begun between Lewis and the States General of the United Provinces, and an eventual treaty was actually concluded; by which all differences were adjuſted, and nothing wanting to the reſtoration of peace, but the concurrence of their reſpective allies. The misfortunes of the confederates, and the ſupine indifference of England ſeemed to render peace neceſſary to them. But had they been ſufficiently acquainted with the ſtate of France, they would have had fewer apprehenſions from the continuance of the war. Though victorious in the field, ſhe was exhauſted at home. The ſucceſſes which had rendered her the terror of her neighbours, had already deprived her, for a time, of the power of hurting them. But the ignorance of mankind continued their fears; the apprehenſions of Europe remained; and Lewis derived more glory from his imaginary, than from his real force.

65. Id. ibid. Voltaire *Siecle*, chap. xii. 66. *Mem. de Brandenburg.*

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THESE apprehenſions were very great in England. In parliament they were made ſubſervient to the purpoſes of ambition and faction, as well as of patriotiſm; and they awakened dangerous diſcontents among the people. Murmurs were heard from all ranks of men. Willing to put an end to diſſatisfactions that diſturbed his repoſe, Charles made a new attempt to gain the confidence of his people. His brother's bigotted attachment to popery, and his own unhappy connections with France, he was ſenſible had chiefly occaſioned the loſs of his popularity. To afford the proſpect of a Proteſtant ſucceſſion to the throne, and procure a general peace to Europe, could not therefore fail, he thought, of quieting the minds of his ſubjects. He accordingly encouraged propoſals of marriage from the prince of Orange to the lady Mary, his brother's eldeſt daughter, and preſumptive heireſs to the crown; the duke of York having then no male iſſue, and the king no legitimate offspring. By ſo tempting a match he hoped to engage the prince entirely in his intereſts; and to ſanctify with William's approbation ſuch a peace as would ſatisfy France, and tend to perpetuate his own connections with Lewis.

WILLIAM came over to England at the cloſe of the campaign; and whatever might be his motives for ſuch a conduct, he acted a part highly deſerving of applauſe, whether we examine it by the rules of prudence or delicacy. He refuſed to enter upon buſineſs before he had been introduced to the lady Mary; declaring that, as he placed great part of his happineſs in domeſtic ſatisfaction, no conſideration of intereſt or policy could ever induce him to marry a perſon who was not perfectly agreeable to him. The lady Mary, whom

whom he found in the bloom of youth, and very amiable both in mind and perſon, exceeded his higheſt hopes; but he ſtill refuſed to concert any meaſures for the general peace, until his marriage ſhould be concluded. His allies who, as things ſtood, were likely to have hard terms, would otherwiſe, he ſaid, be apt to ſuſpect that he had made this match at their coſt. "And I am determined," added he, "it ſhall never "be ſaid, that I ſold my honour for a wife[67]!" Charles, who affected to ſmile at theſe punctilios, perſiſted in his reſolution of making the peace precede the marriage; but finding the prince inflexible, he at laſt conſented to the nuptials, which were celebrated at St. James's to the inexpreſſible joy of the nation. LETTER XIII. A.D. 1677.

THIS matrimonial alliance gave great alarm to the king of France. A junction of England with the confederates, he concluded, would be the immediate conſequence of ſo important a ſtep, taken not only without his conſent, but without his knowlege or participation. Charles, however, endeavoured to quiet his apprehenſions, by adjourning the parliament from the third of December to the fourth of next April; a term late for granting ſupplies, or forming preparations for war[68]. In the mean time the king, the prince of Orange, the lord-treaſurer Danby, and Sir William Temple, held conſultations relative to a general peace; and the earl of Feverſham was diſpatched to France with conditions ſufficiently favourable to the allies, and yet not diſhonourable to Lewis.

TWO days only were allowed the French monarch for the acceptance or refuſal of the peace, and the

67. *Temple's Mem.* part ii. chap. iii. 68. *Dalrymple's Append.*

Engliſh

PART II. A. D. 1677. Engliſh ambaſſador had no power to negociate. But he was prevailed on to ſtay ſome days longer, and returned at laſt without any poſitive anſwer. "My ambaſſador at London," ſaid Lewis, "ſhall have "full powers to finiſh the treaty to the ſatisfaction of "the king. And I hope my brother will not break "with me for one or two towns [69]." The French ambaſſador declared, that he had leave to yield all the towns required, except Tournay; and even to treat of ſome equivalent for that, if the king thought fit. Charles was ſoftened by the moderation of Lewis. The Prince of Orange, who had given vigour to the Engliſh councils, was gone; and delay ſucceeded delay in the negociations, until the French monarch, having taken the field early, made himſelf maſter of

March 9. A. D. 1678. Ghent and Ypres, after having threatened Mons and Namur [70].

THESE conqueſts, which completed the triumph of France, filled the Dutch with terror, and the Engliſh with indignation. But Lewis managed matters ſo artfully in both nations, that neither proved a bar in the way of his ambition. Through his intrigues with the remains of the Loveſtein party in Holland, he increaſed the general deſire of peace, by awakening a jealouſy of the deſigns of the prince of Orange on account of his eagerneſs for continuing the war. In England, he not only maintained his connexions with Charles, but gained to his intereſt many of the popular members in both houſes of parliament, who were leſs afraid of the conqueſt of Flanders, than of truſting the king with an army to defend it. So great, however, was the ardour of the people of England for war, that both the king and parliament were obliged to give way to it. An army of twenty thouſand men, to the

69. *Temple's Mem.* part ii. chap. iii. 70. Id. ibid. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xii.

aſtoniſh-

aſtoniſhment of Europe, was completed in a few weeks; and part of it was ſent over, under the duke of Monmouth, to ſecure Oſtend. Meanwhile Charles, in conſideration of the ſum of three hundred thouſand pounds, ſecretly engaged to diſband his army, and to permit Lewis to make his own terms with the confederates; and the commons, ſwayed by the ſame influence, but entirely ignorant of the king's engagements, and even deſirous to thwart his meaſures, voted that the army ſhould be diſbanded[71]! Baſeneſs ſo complicated, in men of the moſt exalted ſtations, makes us almoſt hate human nature; and the generous mind, in contemplating ſuch a motley groupe, without regard to impoſing names, beholds with equal indignation the penſioned king and the hireling patriot[72].

HAVING nothing now to dread from the only two powers that could ſet bounds to his empire, Lewis aſſumed the ſtyle of a conqueror; and, inſtead of yielding to the terms offered by Charles, he himſelf dictated the articles of a peace, which, by placing all the barrier towns of Flanders in his hands, left that coun-

71. *Temple's Mem.* part ii chap. iii. Dalrymple's Appendix, p. 157. 159.

72. That ſome of the popular members in both houſes of parliament received money from the court of France, is a truth too notorious to be denied, though painful to relate. And to ſay that they abetted no meaſure, which they did not believe to be for the good of their country, is but a poor apology for their venality. A ſenator who can be prevailed on to accept a bribe, it is to be feared, will readily perſuade himſelf of the rectitude of any meaſure, for the ſupport of which it is offered. Of this lord Ruſſell ſeems to have been fully convinced; for although willing to co-operate with France, in order to prevent Charles II. from becoming abſolute, as ſoon as informed that Lewis XIV. began to diſcover that ſuch a change in the Engliſh government would be againſt his intereſt, he was ſtartled when told by Barillon, that he had "a conſiderable ſum to diſtribute in parliament to obſtruct the vote of ſupply."—"I ſhould be ſorry," ſaid he, "to have any *communication* with *men* who can be *gained* by *money*." *Dalrymple's Append.*

try

PART II. A.D. 1687.

try open to his future inroads. This imperious proceeding, and other aggravating circumſtances, occaſioned great murmurs in England, and the king ſeemed at length diſpoſed to enter heartily into the war. But the confederates had been too often deceived, to truſt any longer to the fluctuating councils of Charles. Negociations for a general peace advanced toward a concluſion at Nimeguen; and as the emperor and Spain, though leaſt able to continue the war, ſeemed reſolved to ſtand out, Van Beverning, the Dutch ambaſſador, more prudently than honourably, ſigned a ſeparate treaty with France 73. That treaty, which occaſioned much clamour among the confederates, was ratified by the States; and all the other powers were at laſt obliged to accept the terms preſcribed by the French monarch.

THE principal of theſe terms were, That Lewis, beſide Franche-Compté, which he had twice conquered, ſhould retain poſſeſſion of Cambray, Aire, St. Omers, Valenciennes, Tournay, Ypres, Bouchaine, Caſſel, Charlemont, and other places; that he ſhould reſtore Maeſtricht to the States, the only place belonging to the United Provinces which he now retained; that Spain ſhould be again put in poſſeſſion of Charleroy, Oudenard, Aeth, Ghent, and Limbourg; that the emperor ſhould give up Fribourg to France, and retain Philipſbourg; that the elector of Brandenburg ſhould reſtore to Sweden his conqueſts in Pomerania, and that the treaty of Weſtphalia ſhould remain in full force over Germany and the North 74. The duke of Lorrain was the only prince who refuſed to be included in the peace of Nimeguen: he choſe rather to become a ſoldier of fortune,

73. *Temple's Mem.* part ii. chap. iii. 74. Hainault, an. 1678. *Mem. de Brandenburg.* Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xii.

and

and to command the imperial armies, than to accept his dominions on the conditions propoſed by Lewis. LETTER XIII. A. D. 1678.

THE prince of Orange was ſo much enraged at this peace, that he took a very unwarrantable ſtep to break it. He attacked the quarters of the duke of Luxembourg at St. Denis near Mons, after the treaty was ſigned, and when the duke repoſed on the faith of it, in hopes of cutting off the whole French army 75. But he gained no decided advantage; and this bold violation of the laws of humanity, if not of thoſe of nations, was attended with no other conſequence, than the loſs of many lives on both ſides.

THE king of England alſo diſguſted with Lewis, and aſhamed of having been ſo long the tool of a monarch, to whoſe ambition he might have given law, endeavoured to perſuade the States to diſavow their ambaſſador, and refuſe to ratify the peace. But the Dutch had made too good terms for themſelves, to think of immediately renewing the war; and Charles, though denied the ſtipulated bribe for his ignominious neutrality, ſoon returned to his former connexions with France 76.

THUS, my dear Philip, was Lewis XIV. highly exalted above every other European potentate. He had greatly extended his dominions, in defiance of a powerful confederacy; and he had ſecured very important conqueſts, by treaty. His miniſters, in negociating, had appeared as much ſuperior to thoſe of other nations, as his generals in the field. He had given law to Spain, Holland, and the empire: his arms had humbled his moſt formidable neighbours, and his ambition threatened the independency of all.

75. Voltaire, ubi ſup. Burnet, book iii. 76. *Dalrymple's Append.*

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The farther progreſs of that ambition, we ſhall afterward have occaſion to trace. In the mean time we muſt carry forward the domeſtic hiſtory of Great Britain.

LETTER XIV.

ENGLAND, *from the Popiſh Plot, in* 1678, *to the Death of* CHARLES II. *with a retroſpective View of the Affairs of* SCOTLAND.

NOTWITHSTANDING the ſeeming eagerneſs of Charles II. for war, toward the concluſion of the peace of Nimeguen, he was never believed to be ſincere. So utterly had he loſt the confidence of his people, that his beſt meaſures were ſuppoſed to proceed from bad motives: nay, the more popular any meaſure appeared, the more it was ſuſpected of ſome dangerous purpoſe. A general terror prevailed of popery and arbitrary power: dark ſurmiſes were propagated; and the king and the duke of York, in conjunction with France, were juſtly conſidered as the great enemies of the civil and religious liberties of the nation.

THESE apprehenſions, inflamed by the violence of faction, and turned upon a particular object by the forgeries of artful men, gave birth to the famous impoſture known by the name of the POPISH PLOT; the moſt extraordinary example of frenzy and deluſion that ever diſtracted an unhappy people. But before we enter on that myſterious buſineſs I muſt carry forward the affairs of Scotland, with which it was intimately connected.

SOON

LETTER XIV.

Soon after the ſuppreſſion of the inſurrection in the Weſt of Scotland, in 1666, and the ſevere puniſhment of the fanatical inſurgents, the king was adviſed to try milder methods for bringing the people over to epiſcopacy. With this view, he intruſted the government to the earl of Tweedale, and Sir Robert Murray, men of prudence and moderation. In order to compoſe the religious differences, which ſtill ran high, theſe miniſters adopted a ſcheme of *comprehenſion*; by which it was propoſed to diminiſh the authority of the biſhops, to aboliſh their negative voice in the eccleſiaſtical courts, and to leave them little more than the right of precedency among the Preſbyters[1]. But this ſcheme alarmed the jealouſy of the zealous teachers of thoſe times. They choſe rather to deliver their wild harangues, at the hazard of their lives, to conventicles in woods and mountains, than have any communication with antichriſtian inſtitutions, which they eſteemed dangerous and criminal. "Touch not! "taſte not! handle not!" was their common cry; and the king's miniſters, perceiving that advances to ſuch men could only ſerve to debaſe the dignity of government, by being contemptuouſly rejected, gave up the project of *comprehenſion*, and adopted that of *indulgence*.

A.D. 1667.

A.D. 1668.

In the proſecution of this new ſcheme, they proceeded with great temper and judgement. Some of the moſt enlightened of the Preſbyterian teachers were ſettled in vacant churches, without being obliged to conform to the eſtabliſhed religion; and ſalaries of twenty pounds a year were offered to the reſt, till they ſhould be otherwiſe provided for, on condition that they behaved themſelves with decency and moderation. This offer was univerſally rejected, as the king's

A.D. 1669.

1. Burnet, vol. i.

bribe

PART II. A. D. 1669.

bribe for ſilence; and thoſe teachers who were ſettled in the vacant churches ſoon found their popularity decline, when they delivered only the ſimple doctrines of Chriſtianity. By ceaſing to rail againſt the church and ſtate, called *preaching* to the *times*, they got the name of *dumb dogs*, who were ſuppoſed to be afraid to bark [2]. The churches were again deſerted, for the more vehement and inflammatory diſcourſes of the field: preachers and conventicles multiplied daily in the Weſt; where the people, as formerly, came armed to their places of worſhip.

WHEN this fanaticiſm was at its height, Lauderdale was appointed commiſſioner to the Scottiſh parliament, which met on the 19th of October. The zealous Preſbyterians, the chief aſſertors of liberty, were unable to oppoſe the meaſures of the court; ſo that the tide ran ſtrongly toward monarchy, if not deſpotiſm. By one act it was declared, That the right of governing the church was inherent in the king; and by another, the number of the militia (eſtabliſhed by the undue influence of the crown about two years before) was ſettled at twenty-two thouſand men; who were to be conſtantly armed, regularly diſciplined, and held in readineſs to march to any part of his majeſty's dominions, where their ſervice might be required, for the ſupport of his authority, power, or greatneſs [3]. Thus was Charles inveſted with abſolute ſway in Scotland, and even furniſhed with the means of becoming formidable to his Engliſh ſubjects, whoſe liberties he wiſhed to ſubdue.

A. D. 1670.

A SEVERE act againſt conventicles followed theſe arbitrary laws, on which Lauderdale highly valued himſelf, and which induced the king to make him

2. Id. ibid.

3. Burnet, ubi ſup.

ſole

ſole miniſter for Scotland. Ruinous fines were impoſed on the Preſbyterians, who met to worſhip in houſes, and field-preachers and their hearers were to be puniſhed with death. But laws that are too ſevere defeat their own end. The rigours exerciſed againſt conventicles in Scotland, inſtead of breaking the ſpirit of the fanatics, ſerved only to render them more obſtinate; to increaſe the fervour of their zeal, to bind them more cloſely together, and to inflame them againſt the eſtabliſhed religion. The commonalty every where in the low country, but more eſpecially in the weſtern counties, frequented conventicles without reſerve; and although the gentry themſelves ſeldom viſited thoſe illegal places of worſhip, they took no meaſures to repreſs that irregularity in their inferiors, whoſe liberty they ſeemed to envy. In order to prevent this connivance, a bond or contract was tendered to the landlords in the Weſt, by which they were to engage for the good behaviour of their tenants; and in caſe any tenant frequented a conventicle, the landlord was to ſubject himſelf to the ſame fine that could by law be exacted from the offender [4]. LETTER XIV. A. D. 1678.

But it was ridiculous to give ſanction to laws by voluntary contracts; it was iniquitous to make one man anſwerable for the conduct of another, and it was illegal to impoſe ſuch hard conditions upon men who had no way offended [5]. For theſe reaſons the greater part of the gentry refuſed to ſign the bonds required; and Lauderdale, enraged at ſuch firmneſs, endeavoured to break their ſpirit by an expedient truly tyrannical. Becauſe the weſtern counties abounded in conventicles, though otherwiſe in a ſtate of profound peace, he pretended that they were in a ſtate of actual

4. Burnet, vol. ii. 5. Hume, vol. viii.

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rebellion. He made therefore an agreement with ſome Highland chiefs to call out their followers, to the number of eight thouſand; who, in conjunction with the guards, and the militia of Angus, were ſent to live at free quarter upon the lands of ſuch gentlemen as had rejected the bonds.

As the weſtern counties were the moſt populous, and the moſt induſtrious in Scotland, and the Highlanders the men leaſt civilized, it is more eaſy to imagine than to deſcribe the havoc that enſued. An army of barbarians, trained up in rapine and violence, unaccuſtomed to diſcipline, and averſe from the reſtraints of law, was let looſe among a ſet of people, whom they were taught to regard as the enemies of their prince and their religion. Nothing eſcaped their ravenous hands: neither age, nor ſex, nor innocence afforded protection. And leſt the cry of an oppreſſed people ſhould reach the throne, the council forbade, under ſevere penalties, all noblemen and gentlemen of landed property to leave the kingdom [6].

NOTWITHSTANDING this ſevere edict, the duke of Hamilton, with ten other noblemen, and about fifty gentlemen of diſtinction, went to London, and laid their complaints before the king. Charles was ſhocked at their narrative, but he took no effectual means to remedy the grievances of which they complained. "According to your repreſentation," ſaid he, "Lauderdale has been guilty of many bad things in the "government of Scotland; but I cannot find that he "has, in any thing, acted contrary to my intereſt." What muſt the intereſts of a king be, when they are unconnected with the welfare of his people!

6. Burnet, vol. ii.

MEAN-

LETTER XIV.

A.D. 1678.

MEANWHILE Lauderdale ordered home the Highlanders; and taking advantage of the abſence of the diſſatisfied noblemen and gentlemen, he ſummoned a convention of eſtates at Edinburgh. And this aſſembly, to the eternal diſgrace of the nation, ſent up an addreſs to the king approving of Lauderdale's government. But as the means by which that addreſs was procured were well known, it ſerved only to render both the king and his miniſter more odious in Scotland, and to ſpread univerſal alarm in England; where all men concluded, that as, in the neighbouring kingdom, the very voice of liberty was totally ſuppreſſed, and grievances ſo rivetted that it was become dangerous even to mention them, every thing was to be feared from the arbitrary diſpoſition of Charles. If, by a Proteſtant church, perſecution could be carried to ſuch extremes, what, it was aſked, might not be dreaded from the violence of popery, with which the kingdom was threatened?—and what from the full eſtabliſhment of abſolute power, if its approaches were ſo tyrannical?—Such were the reaſonings of men, and ſuch their apprehenſions in England, when the rumour of a Popiſh plot threw the whole nation into a panic.

THE chief actor in this horrid impoſture, which occaſioned the loſs of much innocent blood, was a needy adventurer, named Titus Oates, one of the moſt profligate of mankind. Being bred to the church, he obtained a ſmall living, which he was obliged to abandon on account of a proſecution for perjury. He was afterward chaplain on board a man of war, but was diſmiſſed for an unnatural crime[7]. In his neceſſity, he came to London, the former ſcene of his de-

7. Burnet, vol. ii.

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baucheries, where he got acquainted with Dr. Tongue, a city divine, who for ſome time fed and clothed him. Tongue himſelf was no perfect character, being a man of a credulous temper, and of an intriguing diſpoſition. A lover of miſchief, to ſpread ſcandal was his chief amuſement, and to propagate the rumour of plots his higheſt delight. By his advice Oates, whom he found to be a bold impudent fellow, agreed to reconcile himſelf to the Romiſh communion, in order to diſcover the deſigns of the Catholics connected with the Engliſh court; to go beyond ſea, and to enter into the ſociety of the Jeſuits. All theſe directions Oates implicitly followed. He became a papiſt; viſited different parts of France and Spain; reſided ſome time in a ſeminary of Jeſuits at St. Omers; but was at laſt diſmiſſed on account of bad behaviour, by that politic body, who never ſeem to have truſted him with any of their ſecrets [8].

OATES, however, ſetting his wicked imagination at work, in order to ſupply the want of materials, returned to England burning with reſentment againſt the Jeſuits, and with a full reſolution of forming the ſtory of a Popiſh plot. This he accompliſhed in conjunction with his patron, Dr. Tongue; and one Kirby, a chemiſt, and Tongue's friend, was employed to communicate the intelligence to the king. Charles made light of the matter, but deſired to ſee Dr. Tongue; who delivered into his hands a narrative conſiſting of forty-three articles, of a conſpiracy to murder his majeſty, to ſubvert the government, and to re-eſtabliſh the catholic faith in England. The king,

8. Burnet, ubi ſup. See alſo *Danby's Mem.* Echard, Kennet, and James II. 1678.

having

having haſtily glanced over the paper, ordered him to carry it to the lord-treaſurer Danby, who treated the information more ſeriouſly than it ſeemed to deſerve. Yet the plot, after all, would have ſunk into oblivion, on account of the king's diſregard to a tale accompanied with ſuch incredible circumſtances, had it not been for an artful contrivance of the impoſtors, that gave to the whole a degree of importance of which it was unworthy.

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TONGUE, who was continually plying the king with freſh information, acquainted the lord-treaſurer, by letter, that a packet written by Jeſuits, concerning the plot, and directed to Bedingfield, confeſſor to the duke of York, would ſoon be delivered. Danby, who was then in Oxfordſhire, haſtened to court; but before his arrival, Bedingfield had carried the letters to the duke, proteſting that he did not know what they meant, and that they were not the hand-writing of the perſons whoſe names they bore. The duke carried them to the king; who was farther confirmed, by this incident, in his belief of an impoſture, and of the propriety of treating it with contempt. But the duke, anxious to clear his confeſſor, and the followers of his religion from ſuch an horrid accuſation, inſiſted on a thorough inquiry into the pretended conſpiracy before the council. The council ſat upon the buſineſs: Kirby, Tongue, and Oates were brought before them; and although the narrative of the latter was improbable, confuſed, and contradictory, the plot made a great noiſe, and obtained ſuch univerſal credit, that it was conſidered as a crime to diſbelieve it.

THE ſubſtance of Oates's evidence was, That he had been privy, both at home and abroad, to many conſultations

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sultations among the Jesuits for the assassination of Charles II. who, they said, had deceived them; that Grove and Pickering, the one an ordained Jesuit, the other a lay brother, were at first appointed to shoot the king, but that it had afterward been resolved to take him off by poison, by bribing Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, and a papist; that many Jesuits had gone into Scotland, in disguise, to distract the government of that kingdom, by preaching sedition in the field-conventicles; that he himself had assisted at a consultation of Jesuits in London, where it was resolved to dispatch the king by the dagger, by shooting, or by poison; and that, when he was busy in collecting evidence for a full discovery, he was suspected, and obliged to separate himself from them, in order to save his own life [9].

THE letters sent to Bedingfield were produced, in support of this evidence; and although they bore as evident marks of forgery as the narrative of imposture, the council issued orders for seizing such accused persons as were then in London. Sir George Wakeman was accordingly apprehended, together with Coleman, late secretary to the duchess of York; Langhorne, an eminent barrister at law, and eight Jesuits, among whom was Pickering [10]. These steps of the council still farther alarmed the nation: the city was all in an uproar; and apprehension and terror every where prevailing, the most absurd fictions were received as certain facts.

BUT this ferment would probably have subsided, and time might have opened the eyes of the public

9. Burnet, &c. ubi supra. See also Oates's *Narrative*.
10. Id. Ibid.

ſo as to diſcern the impoſture, had it not been for certain collateral circumſtances, which put the reality of a popiſh plot beyond diſpute, in the opinion of moſt men. An order had been given, by the lord-treaſurer, to ſeize Coleman's papers. Among theſe were found ſome copies of letters to father la Chaiſe, the French king's confeſſor, to the pope's nuncio at Bruſſels, and to other Catholics abroad; and as Coleman was a weak man, and a wild enthuſiaſt in the Romiſh faith, he had inſinuated many extraordinary things to his correſpondents, in a myſterious language, concerning the converſion of the three Britiſh kingdoms, and the total ruin of the Proteſtant religion, which he termed peſtilent hereſy. He founded his hopes on the zeal of the duke of York, and ſpoke in obſcure terms of aids from abroad, for the accompliſhment of what he denominated a *glorious work* [11].

These indefinite expreſſions, in the preſent ſtate of men's minds, were believed to point diſtinctly at all the crimes in Oates's narrative; and as Coleman's letters for the laſt two years, which were ſuppoſed to contain the unfolding of the whole plot, had been conveyed out of the way before the others were ſeized, full play was left for imagination. Another incident completed the general deluſion, and rendered the prejudices of the nation incurable. This was the murder of Sir Edmondſbury Godfrey, an active juſtice of the peace, who had taken the depoſition of Oates relative to his firſt narrative. He was found dead in a ditch near Primroſe Hill, between London and Hampſtead, with his ſword thruſt through his body, his money in his pocket, and the rings on

11. *Coleman's Letters.*

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his fingers. From theſe laſt circumſtances it was inferred, that his death had not been the act of robbers: it was therefore univerſally aſcribed to the reſentment of the Catholics; though it appears, that he had always lived on a good footing with that ſect, and was even intimate with Coleman at the time that he took Oates's evidence [12].

ALL poſſible advantage, however, was taken of this incident, in order to inflame the popular phrenzy. The dead body of Godfrey was expoſed to view for two whole days: the people in multitudes crouded around it; and every one was rouſed to a degree of rage approaching madneſs, as well by the mutual contagion of ſentiments, as by the moving ſpectacle. His funeral was celebrated with great pomp and parade: the corpſe was conducted through the chief ſtreets of the city; ſeventy-two clergymen walked before, and above a thouſand perſons of diſtinction concluded the proceſſion behind [13]. To deny the reality of the plot, was now to be reputed an accomplice; to heſitate, was criminal. All parties concurred in the deluſion, except the unfortunate Catholics; who, though conſcious of their own innocence, began to be afraid of a maſſacre ſimilar to that of which they were accuſed. But their terror did not diminiſh that of others. Invaſions from abroad, inſurrections at home, conflagrations, and even poiſonings were apprehended. Men looked with wild anxiety at one another, as if every interview had been the laſt. The buſineſs of life was at a ſtand: all was panic, clamour, and confuſion, which ſpread from the capital over the whole kingdom; and reaſon, to uſe the words of a philoſophical hiſtorian, could no more be heard, in the pre-

12. Burnet, vol. ii. 13. North.

ſent

ſent agitation of the human mind, than a whiſper in the midſt of the moſt violent hurricane [14].

DURING this national ferment the parliament was aſſembled; and the earl of Danby, who hated the Catholics, who courted popularity, and perhaps hoped that the king would be more cordially beloved by the nation, if his life was ſuppoſed to be in danger from the Jeſuits, opened the ſtory of the plot in the houſe of peers. Charles, who wiſhed to keep the whole matter from the parliament, was extremely diſpleaſed with this temerity, and ſaid to his miniſter, "You "will find, though you do not believe it, that you "have given the parliament a handle to ruin your-"ſelf, as well as to diſturb all my affairs: and you "will certainly live to repent it!" Danby had afterward ſufficient reaſon to revere the ſagacity of his maſter.

THE cry of the plot was immediately echoed from the upper to the lower houſe. The authority of parliament gave ſanction to that fury with which the people were already animated. The commons voted an addreſs for a ſolemn faſt, and a form of prayer was framed for that occaſion. Oates was brought before them; and finding that even the ſemblance of truth was no longer neceſſary to gain credit to his fictions, he made a bolder publication of his narrative at the bar of the houſe, adding many new and extraordinary circumſtances. The moſt remarkable of theſe were, That the pope having aſſumed the ſovereignty of England, on account of the hereſy of prince and people, had thought proper to delegate the ſupreme power to the ſociety of Jeſuits; and that de-

14. Hume, vol. viii.

Oliva,

PART II. A. D. 1678. Oliva, general of that order, in conſequence of the papal grant, had ſupplied all the principal offices, both civil and military, with Catholic noblemen and gentlemen, many of whom he named. On this ridiculous evidence, the earl of Powis, with the lords Stafford, Arundel, Peters, and Bellaſis were committed to the Tower, and ſoon after impeached for high treaſon: and both houſes voted, without one diſſenting voice, "That there has been, and ſtill is, a *damnable* and *helliſh Plot*, contrived and carried on by "papiſts, for murdering the king, ſubverting the "government, and deſtroying the Proteſtant re-"ligion [15]!"

ENCOURAGED by this declaration, new informers appeared. Coleman and a number of other Catholics were brought to trial, whoſe only guilt appeared to be that of their religion. But they were already condemned by the voice of the nation. The witneſſes in their favour were ready to be torn in pieces; and the jury, and even the judges, diſcovered ſtrong ſymptoms of prejudice againſt them. Little juſtice could be expected from ſuch a tribunal. Many of thoſe unhappy men died with great firmneſs, and all proteſting their innocence to the laſt [16]; yet theſe ſolemn teſtimonies, after all hopes of life had failed, could not awaken compaſſion for their fate in the breaſt of a ſingle ſpectator. They were executed amid the ſhouts of the deluded populace, who ſeemed to enjoy their ſufferings.

FROM the ſuppoſed conſpirators in the popiſh plot, the parliament turned its views to higher objects. A

15. *Journals*, October 31, 1678. 16. Burnet, vol. ii.

bill

bill was introduced, by the commons, for a new Teſt, in which *popery* was denominated *idolatry*; and all the members, who refuſed this teſt, were to be excluded from both houſes. The bill paſſed the lower houſe, without oppoſition, and was ſent up to the lords. The duke of York moved in the houſe of peers, that an exception might be admitted in his favour; and with great earneſtneſs, and even with tears in his eyes, he ſaid, he was now to throw himſelf on their kindneſs, in the greateſt concern he could have in this world. He dwelt much on his duty to the king, and his zeal for the proſperity of the nation; and he ſolemnly proteſted, that whatever his religion might be, it ſhould be only a *private thing* between God and his own ſoul, and never ſhould influence his public conduct. This exception being agreed to, the bill was returned to the commons; and, contrary to all expectation, the amendment was carried by a majority of two votes [17]

A. D. 1678.

THE rage againſt popery, however, continued; and was in nothing more remarkable than in the encouragement given by the parliament to informers. Oates, who, granting his evidence true, muſt be regarded as an infamous ſcoundrel, was recommended by the two houſes to the king. He was rewarded with a penſion of twelve hundred pounds a year; guards were appointed for his protection; men of the firſt rank courted his company, and he was called the Saviour of the nation. The employment of an informer became honourable; and, beſide thoſe wretches who appeared in ſupport of Oates's evidence, a man high in office aſſumed that character.

17. *Journals*, Nov. 22, 1678.

MON-

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MONTAGUE, the Engliſh ambaſſador at the court of France, diſappointed in his expectation of being made ſecretary of ſtate, returned without leave, and took his ſeat in the lower houſe. He had been deeply concerned in the money negociations between Charles and Lewis. On the late diſagreement of theſe two princes, he had been gained by the latter; and now, on the failure of his hopes of preferment from the court of England, he engaged, for one hundred thouſand crowns, to diſgrace the king, and to ruin his miniſter, who was become peculiarly obnoxious to France [18]. Danby, having ſome intimation of this intrigue, ordered Montague's papers to be ſeized; but that experienced politician, prepared againſt the poſſibility of ſuch a circumſtance, had delivered into ſure hands the papers that could moſt effectually ſerve his purpoſe. The violence of the miniſter afforded a kind of excuſe for the perfidy of the ambaſſador. Two of Danby's letters were produced before the houſe of commons. One of theſe contained inſtructions to demand three hundred thouſand pounds a year, for three years, from the French monarch, provided the conditions of peace ſhould be accepted at Nimeguen, in conſequence of Charles's good offices; and, as Danby had foreſeen the danger of this negociation, the king, in order to remove his fears, had ſubjoined with his own hand, that the letter was written by his expreſs orders [19].

THIS circumſtance rather inflamed than allayed the reſentment of the commons, who naturally concluded, that the king had all along acted in concert with the French court, and that every ſtep which he

18. *Dalrymple's Append.* p. 193. See alſo *Danby Papers.*

19. *Journals*, Dec. 14, 1678.

had

had taken, in conjunction with the allies, had been illuſory and deceitful. It was immediately moved, That there is ſufficient matter of impeachment againſt the lord-treaſurer; and the queſtion was carried by a conſiderable majority. Danby's friends were abaſhed, and his enemies were elated beyond meaſure with their triumph. The king himſelf was alarmed: his ſecret negociations with France, before only ſuſpected, were now aſcertained. Many who wiſhed to ſupport the crown were aſhamed of the meanneſs of the prince, and deſerted their principles in order to ſave their reputation. LETTER XIV. A.D. 1678.

THE articles exhibited againſt the treaſurer were ſix in number; and conſiſted, beſide the letters, of various miſmanagements in office, moſt of which were either frivolous or ill founded. Danby, upon the whole, had been a cautious miniſter. When the impeachment was read in the houſe of peers, he roſe and ſpoke to every article. He ſhewed that Montague, the informer againſt him, had himſelf promoted with ardour the money-negociations with Lewis. He cleared himſelf from the aſperſion of alienating the king's revenue to improper purpoſes: and he inſiſted particularly on his known averſion againſt the intereſts of France; declaring, that whatever compliances he might have made, he had always eſteemed a connexion with that kingdom pernicious to his maſter and deſtructive to his country[20]. The lords went immediately into a debate on the queſtion; and, upon a diviſion, the majority were againſt the commitment of Danby. The commons however inſiſted, that he ſhould be ſequeſtered from parliament and committed. A violent conteſt was likely to enſue; and the king,

20. *Journals of the Lords*, Dec. 25, 1678.

who

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who thought himſelf bound to ſupport his miniſter, and ſaw no hopes of ending the diſpute by gentle means, firſt prorogued, and afterward diſſolved the parliament.

THIS was a deſperate remedy in the preſent critical ſtate of the nation, and did not anſwer the end propoſed. It afforded but a temporary relief, if it may not be ſaid to have increaſed the diſeaſe. The new parliament, which the king was under the neceſſity of aſſembling, conſiſted chiefly of the moſt violent of the former members, reinforced by others of the ſame principles. The court had exerted its influence in vain: the elections were made with all the prejudices of the times. The king's connexions with France had alienated the affections of his ſubjects; but the avowed popery of the duke of York was a ſtill more dangerous ſubject of jealouſy and diſcontent. Senſible that this was the fatal ſource of the greater part of the misfortunes of his reign, and foreſeeing the troubles that were likely to be occaſioned by the violent ſpirit of the new repreſentatives, Charles conjured his brother to conform to the eſtabliſhed church. He even ſent the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the biſhop of Wincheſter to perſuade him, if poſſible, to become again a Proteſtant; and on finding all their arguments loſt on his obſtinacy, he deſired him to withdraw beyond ſea, in order to appeaſe the people, and to ſatisfy the parliament that popiſh counſels no longer prevailed at court. This propoſal the duke alſo declined, as he apprehended that his retiring would be conſtrued into an acknowledgement of guilt; but when the king inſiſted on his departure, as a ſtep neceſſary for the welfare of both, he obeyed, after engaging Charles to make a public declaration of the ille-

illegitimacy of the duke of Monmouth. He went first to Holland, and then to Bruſſels, where he fixed his reſidence [21]. LETTER XIV. A.D. 1679.

JAMES duke of Monmouth, natural ſon of Charles II. by Lucy Walters, and born about ten years before the Reſtoration, poſſeſſed all the qualities that can engage the affections of the populace, with many of thoſe that conciliate the favour of the more diſcerning part of mankind. To a gracefulneſs of perſon, which commanded reſpect, he joined the moſt winning affability; by nature tender, he was an enemy to cruelty: he was conſtant in his friendſhips, and juſt to his word. Active and vigorous in his conſtitution, he excelled in the manly exerciſes of the field. He was perſonally brave, and loved the pomp, and the very dangers of war; but he was vain even to a degree of folly, verſatile in his meaſures, and weak in his underſtanding. This weakneſs rendered him a fit tool for the earl of Shafteſbury, the moſt able and unprincipled man of his age, and who had lately diſtinguiſhed himſelf as much by his oppoſition againſt the court, as formerly by the violence of his counſels in its favour, while one of the Cabal. That bold and arch-politician had flattered Monmouth with the hopes of ſucceeding to the crown. A ſtory had even been propagated of his legitimacy, in conſequence of a ſecret contract of marriage between the king and his mother. This ſtory was greedily received by the multitude: and on the removal of the duke of York from the kingdom, and the proſpect of his being excluded from the ſucceſſion by the jealouſy of parliament, it was hoped that Monmouth would be declared

[21] Burnet, vol. ii. James II. 1679.

prince

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prince of Wales. But Charles, in order to cut off all ſuch expectations, as well as to quiet his brother's apprehenſions, made a ſolemn declaration before the privy council, that he was never married to any woman but the queen; and on finding that Monmouth continued to encourage the belief of the lawfulneſs of his birth, the king renewed his proteſtation, and made it particular againſt Lucy Walters[22].

THE ſubſequent events of this reign, my dear Philip, furniſh abundant matter for the memorialiſt; but, the ſtruggle between the king and parliament excepted, they have little relation to the line of general hiſtory. I ſhall, therefore, paſs them over ſlightly, offering only the moſt important to your notice. One could wiſh that the greater part of them were eraſed from the Engliſh annals.

THE new parliament, no way mollified by the diſmiſſion of the duke of York, diſcovered all the violence that had been feared by the court. The commons revived the proſecution of the earl of Danby: they reminded the lords of his impeachment; and they demanded juſtice, in the name of the people of England. Charles, determined to ſave his miniſter, had already had the precaution to grant him a pardon. That he now avowed in the houſe of peers; declaring that he could not think Danby in any reſpect criminal, as he had acted in every thing by his orders. The lower houſe, paying no regard to this confeſſion, immediately voted, that no pardon of the crown could be pleaded in bar of an impeachment by the commons

22. Kennet, vol. iii. Hume, vol. viii.

of

of England [23]. The lords ſeemed at firſt to adhere to the pardon, but yielded at laſt to the violence of the commons; and Danby, after abſconding for a time, ſurrendered to the Black Rod, and was committed to the Tower. A.D. 1679.

CHARLES, in order to ſoothe the commons, made a ſhew of changing his meaſures. Several popular leaders of both houſes were admitted into the privy council; particularly Sir Henry Capel, lord Ruſſell, the earl of Shafteſbury, and the viſcounts Hallifax and Fauconberg, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their oppoſition to the court. The earl of Eſſex, a popular nobleman, was advanced to the head of the treaſury, in the room of the earl of Danby; and the earl of Sunderland, a man every way qualified for ſuch an office, was made ſecretary of ſtate.

BY thus placing the moſt violent patriots, either real or pretended, in his ſervice, the king hoped to regain the affections of his parliament. But he was miſerably diſappointed. The commons received his declaration of a new council with the greateſt indifference and coldneſs; believing the whole to be a trick, in order to obtain money, or an artifice to induce the country-party to drop their purſuit of grievances, by diſarming with offices the violence of their leaders. They therefore continued their deliberations with unabating zeal; and reſolved, without

23. The prerogative of mercy had been hitherto underſtood to be altogether unlimited in the crown; ſo that this pretenſion of the commons was perfectly new. It was not, however, unſuitable to the genius of a monarchy ſtrictly limited; where the king's miniſters are ſuppoſed to be accountable to the national aſſembly even for ſuch abuſes of power as they may commit by orders from their maſter.

PART II. A.D. 1679. one diſſenting voice, "That the duke of York's being "a papiſt, and the hopes of his coming, as ſuch, to "the crown, has given the greateſt countenance and "encouragement to the plots againſt the king and "the Proteſtant religion [24].

THIS being conſidered as an introductory ſtep to the eventual excluſion of the duke from the throne, Charles, in order to prevent ſuch a bold meaſure, laid before the parliament certain limitations; which, without altering the ſucceſſion to the crown, he thought ſufficient to ſecure the civil and religious liberties of the ſubject. The limitations propoſed were very important: they deprived a popiſh ſucceſſor of the right of beſtowing eccleſiaſtical promotions, and of either appointing or diſplacing privy counſellors or judges, without the conſent of parliament. The ſame precaution was extended to the military part of the government; to the lord-lieutenants and deputy-lieutenants of counties, and to all officers of the navy [25].

THESE ample conceſſions, which in a manner annihilated the power of the crown, were rejected with contempt by the commons. They brought in a bill for the total excluſion of the duke of York, and they continued their proſecution againſt Danby. They reſolved, That the pardon which he claimed was illegal and void; and, after ſome conferences with the lords on the ſubject, a day was fixed for his trial. Preparations were alſo made for the trial of the popiſh lords in the Tower.

24. *Journals*, April 27, 1679. 25. Ibid. May 10.

IN

LETTER XIV.

A. D. 1679.

In the mean time a furious diſpute aroſe between the two houſes, occaſioned by a reſolution of the commons, "That the lords *ſpiritual* ought not to "have any *vote* in *any* proceedings againſt the lords in "the Tower [26]." This reſolution involved a queſtion of no ſmall importance, and was of peculiar conſequence in the preſent caſe. Though the biſhops were anciently prohibited by the canon law, and afterward by eſtabliſhed cuſtom, from aſſiſting at capital trials, they generally ſat and voted in motions preparatory to ſuch trials. The validity of Danby's pardon was firſt to be debated; and although but a preliminary, was the hinge on which the whole muſt turn. The commons, therefore, inſiſted upon excluding the biſhops, whom they knew to be devoted to the court: the lords were unwilling to make any alteration in the forms of their judicature: both houſes adhered to their reſpective pretenſions: and Charles took advantage of their quarrels, firſt to prorogue, and then to diſſolve the parliament; ſetting aſide, by that meaſure, the trial of his miniſter, and, for a time, the Bill of Excluſion againſt his brother [27].

Though this parliament, my dear Philip, is reprehenſible on account of its violence and its credulity; and although ſome of its members ſeem to have been actuated by a ſpirit of party, and a ſtrong antipathy againſt the royal family, while others were influenced by the money of France, or the intrigues of the prince of Orange, the greater number were animated by a real ſpirit of patriotiſm; by an honeſt zeal for

26. *Journals*, May 17.

27. Danby and the popiſh lords, Stafford excepted, whoſe fate I ſhall have occaſion to relate, after lying in the Tower till 1684, were admitted to bail on petition.

PART II. A. D. 1679.

their civil and religious liberties. Of this the Excluſion Bill and the *Habeas Corpus* Act are ſufficient proofs. The latter, which particularly diſtinguiſhes the Engliſh conſtitution, can never be too much applauded.

THE perſonal liberty of individuals is a property of human nature, which nothing but the certainty of a crime committed ought ever to abridge or reſtrain. The Engliſh nation had, accordingly, very early and repeatedly, as we have ſeen, ſecured by public acts this valuable part of their rights as men; yet ſomething was ſtill wanting to render perſonal freedom complete, and prevent evaſion or delay from miniſters and judges. The act of *Habeas Corpus*, paſſed laſt ſeſſion, anſwered all theſe purpoſes, and does equal honour to the patriotiſm and the penetration of thoſe who framed it and carried it into a law. This act prohibits the ſending of any Engliſh ſubject to a priſon beyond ſea; and it provides, that no judge ſhall refuſe to any priſoner a writ, by which the gaoler is directed to produce in court the body of ſuch priſoner, and to certify the cauſe of his detainer and commitment.

THE general rage againſt popery, and the ſucceſs of the country-party in the Engliſh parliament, raiſed the ſpirit of the Scottiſh Covenanters, and gave new life to their hopes. Their conventicles, to which they went armed, became more frequent and numerous; and though they never acted offenſively, they frequently repelled the troops ſent to diſperſe them. But even this ſmall degree of moderation could not long be preſerved by a ſet of wild enthuſiaſts, who thought every thing lawful for the ſupport of their godly cauſe; who were driven to madneſs by the

oppreſſions of a tyrannical government, and flattered, by their friends in England, with the proſpect of relief from their troubles. A barbarous violence increaſed the load of their calamities. A. D. 1679.

SHARPE, archbiſhop of St. Andrews, was deſervedly obnoxious to the Covenanters. Having been deputed by the Scottiſh clergy at the Reſtoration, to manage their intereſts with the king, he had betrayed them. He ſoon after openly abandoned the Preſbyterian party; and when epiſcopacy was eſtabliſhed in Scotland, his apoſtacy was rewarded with the dignity of primate. To him was chiefly entruſted the conduct of eccleſiaſtical affairs; and, in order to recommend himſelf to the court, he perſecuted the Covenanters, or non-conformiſts, with unrelenting rigour. It was impoſſible for human beings to ſuffer ſo many injuries, without being ſtimulated againſt their author by the keeneſt emotions of indignation and revenge. A band of deſperate fanatics, farther influenced by the hope of doing an acceptable ſervice to Heaven, way-laid the archbiſhop in the neighbourhood of St. Andrews; and, after firing into his coach, diſpatched him with many wounds [29].

THIS atrocious action furniſhed the miniſtry with a pretext for a more ſevere perſecution of the Covenanters; on whom, without diſtinction, they threw the guilt of the murder of Sharpe. The troops quartered in the weſtern counties received orders to diſperſe, by force, all conventicles, wherever they ſhould be found. This ſeverity obliged the Covenanters to aſſemble in large bodies; and their ſucceſs in repelling the king's forces, emboldened them to ſet

29. Burnet, vol. ii. Wodrow, vol. ii.

PART II. A.D. 1679.

forth a declaration againſt epiſcopacy, and publicly to burn the acts of parliament which had eſtabliſhed that mode of eccleſiaſtical government in Scotland. They took poſſeſſion of Glaſgow, and eſtabliſhed a kind of preaching camp in the neighbourhood; whence they iſſued proclamations, declaring that they fought againſt the king's ſupremacy in religious matters, againſt popery, prelacy, and a popiſh ſucceſſor [30].

CHARLES, alarmed at this inſurrection, diſpatched the duke of Monmouth, with a body of Engliſh cavalry, to join the royal army in Scotland, and ſubdue the fanatics. Monmouth came up with the Covenanters at Bothwel-bridge, between Glaſgow and Hamilton, where a rout rather than a battle enſued, and the inſurgents were totally diſperſed. About ſeven hundred of theſe perſecuted and miſguided men fell in the purſuit, and twelve hundred were made priſoners. But, the execution of two clergymen excepted, this was all the blood that was ſhed. Monmouth uſed his victory with great moderation. Such priſoners as would promiſe to live peaceably, in future, were diſmiſſed.

THAT lenity, however, unfortunately awakened the jealouſy of the court. Monmouth was recalled and diſgraced; and the duke of York, who had found a pretence to return to England, was entruſted with the government of Scotland. Under his adminiſtration, the Covenanters were expoſed to a cruel perſecution; and ſuch puniſhments were inflicted upon them, even on frivolous pretences, as make humanity ſhudder, and would diſfigure the character of any prince leſs marked with ſeverities than that of James. He is ſaid to have been frequently preſent at the torturing of the un-

30. Id. Ibid.

happy

happy criminals, and to have viewed their ſufferings with as much unfeeling attention, as if he had been contemplating ſome curious experiment [31]. LETTER XIV.

WHILE theſe things were paſſing in Scotland, a new parliament was aſſembled in England, where the ſpirit of party ſtill raged with unabated fury. Inſtead of *Petitioners* and *Abhorrers* (or thoſe who applied for redreſs of grievances, and ſuch as oppoſed their petitions) into which the nation had been for ſome time divided, the court and country parties came now to be diſtinguiſhed by the ſtill prevailing epithets of WHIG and TORY. The court party reproached their antagoniſts with their affinity to the fanatical conventiclers in Scotland, who were known by the name of *Whigs*; and the country party pretended to find a reſemblance between the courtiers and the popiſh banditti in Ireland, to whom the appellation of *Tory* was affixed [32]. Such was the origin of thoſe party-names, which will, in all probability, continue to the lateſt poſterity. A.D. 1680.

THE new parliament diſcovered no leſs violence than the former. The commons voted, That it is the undoubted right of the ſubjects of England to petition the king for the ſitting of parliament and the redreſs of grievances; and they reſolved, That to traduce ſuch petitioning is to betray the liberty of the people, to contribute to ſubvert the ancient conſtitution, and to introduce arbitrary power. They renewed the vote of their predeceſſors, laying the whole blame of the Popiſh Plot on the religion of the duke of York; and they brought in a bill for excluding him from the

31. Burnet, vol. ii. This account of the apathy of James is confirmed by his letters in Dalrymple's *Append.* part i.

32. Burnet, vol. ii. Hume, vol. viii.

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throne. This bill was paſſed, after a warm debate, and carried up to the houſe of peers; where Shafteſbury and Sunderland argued powerfully for it, and Halifax no leſs ſtrenuouſly againſt it. Through the forcible reaſoning of the latter, who diſcovered an extent of abilities, and a flow of eloquence which had never been exceeded in the Engliſh parliament, the bill was rejected by a conſiderable majority of the lords [33].

ENRAGED at this diſappointment, the commons diſcovered their ill humour in many violent and unjuſtifiable proceedings. They proſecuted the Abhorrers, they impeached the judges, and they perſecuted all the moſt intimate friends of the duke of York. At laſt they revived the impeachment of the popiſh lords in the Tower, and ſingled out the viſcount Stafford as their victim. He was accordingly brought to trial; and although labouring under age and infirmities, he defended himſelf with great firmneſs and preſence of mind, exhibiting the moſt ſtriking proofs of his innocence. Yet, to the aſtoniſhment of all unprejudiced men, he was condemned by a majority of twenty-four voices. He received with ſurpriſe, but reſignation, the fatal verdict; and the people, who had exulted over his conviction, were ſoftened into tears at his execution, by the venerable ſimplicity of his appearance. He continued on the ſcaffold to make earneſt proteſtations of his innocence, and expreſſed a hope that the preſent deluſion would ſoon be over. A ſilent aſſent to his aſſeverations was obſerved through the vaſt multitude of weeping ſpectators; whilſt ſome cried, in a faultering accent, "We believe you, my "Lord!" The executioner himſelf was touched with

33. Burnet, vol. ii. James II. 1680.

the

the general ſympathy. Twice did he ſuſpend the blow, after raiſing the fatal ax; and when at laſt, by a third effort, he ſevered that nobleman's head from his body, all the ſpectators ſeemed to feel the ſtroke 34. LETTER XIV. A. D. 1680.

THE execution of Stafford opened, in ſome meaſure, the eyes of the nation, but did not diminiſh the violence of the commons. They ſtill hoped, that the king's urgent neceſſities would oblige him to throw himſelf wholly upon their generoſity. They therefore brought in a bill for an aſſociation to prevent the duke of York, or any Papiſt, from ſucceeding to the crown; and they voted, That whoever had adviſed his majeſty to refuſe the Excluſion Bill were enemies to the king and kingdom. Nor did they ſtop here. They reſolved, That until a bill to exclude the duke of York ſhould paſs, the commons could grant the king no ſupply, without betraying the truſt repoſed in them by their conſtituents. And that Charles might not be enabled, by any other expedient, to ſupport the government, and preſerve himſelf independent, they farther reſolved, That whoever ſhould thereafter advance money on the cuſtoms, exciſe, or hearth-money; or whoever ſhould accept or buy any tally of anticipation upon any part of the king's revenue, ſhould be adjudged to hinder the ſitting of parliament, and become reſponſible for his conduct at the bar of the houſe of commons 35. A. D. 1681.

HAVING got intelligence of theſe violent proceedings, Charles came to a reſolution to prorogue the parliament; for although he was ſenſible, that the peers, who had rejected the Excluſion Bill, would ſtill continue to defend the throne, he ſaw no

34. Burnet, vol. ii. Hume, vol. viii. 35. Journals, Dec. 1680, and Jan. 1681.

hope

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hope of bringing the commons to any better temper, and was perſuaded that their farther ſitting could only ſerve to keep faction alive, and to perpetuate the general ferment of the nation. When they received information of his deſign, they reſolved, That whoever adviſed his majeſty to prorogue his parliament, for any other purpoſe than to paſs the Bill of Excluſion, was a betrayer of the king; an enemy to the Proteſtant religion, and to the kingdom of England; a promoter of the French intereſt, and a penſioner of France [36]. This furious reſolution, and others of the ſame nature, determined the king inſtantly to diſſolve the parliament, inſtead of proroguing it.

BOTH parties had now carried matters ſo far, that a civil war ſeemed inevitable, unleſs the king, contrary to his fixed reſolution of not interrupting the line of ſucceſſion, ſhould agree to paſs the Bill of Excluſion. Charles ſaw his danger, and was prepared to meet it. A variety of circumſtances, however, conſpired to preſerve the nation from that extremity, and to fling the whole powers of government finally into the hands of the king.

THE PERSONAL CHARACTER of Charles, who, to uſe the words of one who knew him well, with great *quickneſs* of *conception*, *pleaſantneſs* of *wit*, and *variety* of *knowledge*, "had not a grain of pride or va-"nity in his whole compoſition [37]," had always rendered him the idol of the populace. The moſt affable, beſt bred man alive, he treated his ſubjects like noblemen, like gentlemen, like freemen; not like vaſſals or boors. His profeſſions were plauſible, and his whole behaviour engaging; ſo that he won upon the hearts, even while he loſt the good opinion of his

36 *Journals*, Jan. 10, 1681. 37. Sir William Temple.

ſubjects,

ſubjects, and often balanced their judgment of things by their *perſonal* inclination 38.

THESE qualities, and this part of his conduct, went a great way to give the king hold of the affections of his people. But thoſe were not all. In his public conduct too he ſtudied, and even obtained a degree of popularity; for although he often embraced meaſures inconſiſtent with the political intereſts of the nation, and ſometimes dangerous to the liberty and religion of his ſubjects, he had never been found to perſevere obſtinately in them, but had always returned into that path which the general opinion ſeemed to point out to him. And, as a farther excuſe, his worſt meaſures were all aſcribed to the bigotry and arbitrary principles of his brother. If he had been obſtinate in denying, to the voice of his commons, the Bill of Excluſion, he had declared himſelf ready to paſs any other bill, that might be deemed neceſſary to ſecure the civil and religious liberties of his people during the reign of a Popiſh ſucceſſor, provided it did not tend to alter the deſcent of the crown in the true line. This, by the nation at large, was thought no unreaſonable conceſſion; and, if accepted, would have effectually ſeparated the king from the duke of York, unleſs he had changed his religion, inſtead of uniting them together by a fear made common to both. But the dye was thrown; and the leaders of the Whig party were reſolved to hazard all, rather than hearken to any thing ſhort of abſolute excluſion 39.

THIS violence of the commons increaſed the number of the king's friends among the people. And he did not fail to take advantage of ſuch a fortunate circumſtance,

38. Bolingbroke, *Diſſertation on Parties.* 39. Burnet, vol. ii.

in

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in order to ſtrengthen his authority, and to diſconcert the deſigns of his enemies. He repreſented to the zealous abettors of epiſcopacy, the multitude of Preſbyterians and other ſectaries who had entered into the Whig party, both in and out of parliament; the encouragement and favour they met with, and the loudneſs of their clamours againſt popery and arbitrary power; which, he inſinuated, were intended only to divert the attention of the more moderate and intelligent part of the kingdom from their republican and fanatical views. By theſe means, he made the nobility and clergy apprehend, that the old ſcheme for the abolition of the church and monarchy was revived; and that the ſame miſeries and oppreſſions awaited them, to which they had been ſo long expoſed during the former, and yet recent uſurpations of the commons.

THE memory of thoſe melancholy times alſo united many cool and unprejudiced perſons to the crown, and begot a dread leſt the zeal for civil liberty ſhould ingraft itſelf once more on religious enthuſiaſm, and deluge the nation in blood. The king himſelf ſeemed not to be totally free from ſuch apprehenſions. He therefore ordered the new parliament to aſſemble at Oxford, that the Whig party might be deprived of all that encouragement and ſupport, which they might otherwiſe derive from the vicinity of the great and factious city of London. The party themſelves afforded a ſtriking proof of the juſtice of the king's fears. Sixteen peers, all violent Excluſioniſts, with the duke of Monmouth at their head, preſented a petition againſt the ſitting of the parliament at Oxford; "where the two houſes," they ſaid, "could "not deliberate in ſafety; but would be expoſed to "the ſwords of the Papiſts and their adherents, of "whom too many had crept into his Majeſty's "guards,"

"guards 40." Theſe inſinuations, which ſo evidently pointed at Charles himſelf, were thrown out merely to inflame the people, not to perſuade the king of the terror of the parliament; and, inſtead of altering his reſolution, they ſerved only to confirm him in the propriety of it.

In aſſembling a new parliament, ſo ſoon as two months after the diſſolution of the former, Charles had little expectation of meeting with a more favourable diſpoſition in the commons. But he was deſirous to demonſtrate his willingneſs to meet that national aſſembly; hoping, if every method of accommodation ſhould fail, that he would be the better enabled to juſtify himſelf to the maſs of his people, in coming to a final breach with the repreſentative body. The commons, on their part, might readily have perceived, from the place where they were ordered to meet, that the king was determined to act with firmneſs. But they ſtill flattered themſelves, that his urgent neceſſities and his love of eaſe would ultimately make him yield to their vehemence. They therefore filled the whole kingdom with tumult and noiſe. The elections went every where againſt the court; and the popular leaders, armed, and confident of victory, came to Oxford attended by numerous bands of their partizans. The four members for the city of London, in particular, were followed by large companies, wearing in their hats ribbons, in which were woven the blood-ſtirring words, *No Popery! no Slavery!* The king alſo made a ſhew of his ſtrength. He entered Oxford in great pomp. His guards were regularly muſtered; his party collected their force; and all things, on both ſides, wore more the appearance of

40. Kennet, vol. iii. James II. 1681.

hoſtile

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hoſtile oppoſition than of civil deliberation or debate [41].

CHARLES, who had hitherto addreſſed his parliaments in the moſt ſoothing language, on this occaſion aſſumed a more authoritative tone. He reproached the former houſe of commons with obſtinacy, in rejecting his proffered limitations: he expreſſed a hope of finding a better temper in the preſent; and he aſſured both houſes, that, as he ſhould uſe no arbitrary government himſelf, he was reſolved not to ſuffer tyranny in others [42]. The commons were not overawed by this appearance of vigour. As they conſiſted chiefly of the ſame members that ſat in the laſt parliament, they choſe the ſame ſpeaker, and diſcovered the ſame violence as formerly. They revived the impeachment of Danby, the inquiry into the Popiſh Plot, and the Bill of Excluſion.

THE king, who was offended at the abſurd bigotry of his brother, and willing to agree to any meaſure that might gain the commons, without breaking the line of ſucceſſion, permitted one of his miniſters to propoſe, that the duke of York ſhould be baniſhed, during life, five hundred miles from England, Scotland, and Ireland; and that, on the king's deceaſe, the next heir, namely the princeſs of Orange, ſhould be conſtituted regent, with regal power. This, as lord Bolingbroke humorouſly obſerves, was ſurely not to vote the lion in the lobby into the houſe: it would have been to vote him out of the houſe and lobby both, and only to ſuffer him to be called lion ſtill [43]. But the paſt diſappointments of the popular party, and the oppoſition made by the court, had

41. Kennet, vol. iii. 42. *Journals of the Lords*, March 21, 1681. 43. *Diſſertation on Parties*, Lett. vii.

ſoured

ſoured their temper to ſuch a degree, that no method of excluding the duke, but their own, could give them ſatisfaction. The king's propoſal was, therefore, rejected with diſdain; and Charles, thinking he had now a ſufficient apology for adopting that meaſure, which he had foreſeen would be become neceſſary, went privately to the houſe of peers, and diſſolved the parliament 44.

A SUDDEN clap of thunder could not more have aſtoniſhed the popular party, than did this bold ſtep. Prepared for no other but parliamentary reſiſtance, they gave all their towering hopes at once to the wind; and the great bulwark of oppoſition, which they had been ſo long employed in raiſing, quickly vaniſhed into air. They were made ſenſible, though too late, that they had miſtaken the temporizing policy of Charles for timidity, and his love of eaſe for want of vigour. They found, that he had patiently waited until things ſhould come to a criſis; and that, having procured a national majority on his ſide, he had ſet his enemies at defiance. No parliament, they knew, would be ſummoned for ſome years; and during that dangerous interval, they foreſaw that the court would have every advantage over a body of men diſperſed and diſunited. Their ſpirit left them with their good fortune: fears for themſelves ſucceeded to their violence againſt the crown. They were apprehenſive that a prince, whom they had offended and diſtreſſed, would uſe his victory with rigour. And they were not deceived.

FROM this time forward, the king became more ſevere in his temper, and jealous in his diſpoſition.

44. Burnet, vol. ii.

He

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He immediately concluded a ſecret money-treaty with France, in order to enable him to govern without parliamentary ſupplies [45]; and he publiſhed a declaration, in vindication of his late violent meaſure. That declaration was ordered to be read in all the churches and chapels in England: the eloquence of the clergy ſeconded the arguments of the monarch: addreſſes, full of expreſſions of duty and loyalty, were ſent to him from all the legal ſocieties in the kingdom; and the people in general ſeemed to congratulate their ſovereign on his happy eſcape from parliaments [46]! The doctrines of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance were revived; and the bench and the pulpit ſeemed to contend with each other, which could ſhew moſt zeal for unlimited power in the crown.

THIS was a ſtrange and ſudden revolution in the ſentiments of the nation: yet, had the king puſhed his victory no farther, had he been contented to enjoy his triumph without violence or injuſtice, his paſt conduct might have admitted of ſome apology, and the abettors of the prerogative might have awakened reſentment without kindling indignation. But Charles was unfortunately at the head of a faction, who ſeemed to think that the hour of retaliation was come; and as he had formerly temporized to quiet his enemies, he now judged it neceſſary to give way to the vehemence of his friends. In order to gratify the eſtabliſhed clergy, a ſevere perſecution was commenced againſt the Preſbyterians, and other Proteſtant ſec-

45. *Dalrymple's Append.* James II. 1681.

46. This remarkable change, as Burnet very judiciouſly obſerves, ſhews how little dependence can be placed on popular humours; which "have their ebbings and their flowings, their hot and cold fits, almoſt "as certainly as ſeas or fevers." *Hiſt. of his Own Times*, vol. ii.

taries

taries who had been the chief ſupport of the Excluſioniſts in the houſe of commons; and the whole gang of ſpies, informers, and falſe witneſſes, who had been retained by the popular party, in order to eſtabliſh the reality of the popiſh plot, and whoſe perjuries had proved fatal to ſo many catholics, were now enliſted by the court, and played off as an engine againſt their former patrons. The Royaliſts, to uſe the expreſſion of a nervous writer, thought their opponents ſo much covered with guilt, that *injuſtice* itſelf became *juſt* in their puniſhment[47]. LETTER XIV. A.D. 1681.

EVERY other ſpecies of retaliation but this, my dear Philip, may perhaps be vindicated, or admit of ſome excuſe. Let force revenge the violences committed by force: let blood ſtream for blood; let the pillage of one party repay the depredations of another; let the perſecuted, in their turn, become perſecutors, and the faggot mutually flame for the purgation of martyrs:—theſe are but temporary evils, and may ſoon be forgot; but let not the fountain of juſtice be poiſoned in its ſource, and the laws intended to protect mankind become inſtruments of deſtruction. This is the greateſt calamity that can befal a nation, famine and peſtilence not excepted, and may be conſidered as the laſt ſtage of political degeneracy.

IN thoſe times of general corruption and abject ſervility, when all men ſeemed ready to proſtrate themſelves at the foot of the throne, the citizens of London ſtill retained their bold ſpirit of liberty and independency. The grand jury had judiciouſly rejected an indictment againſt the earl of Shafteſbury on account of the improbability of the circumſtances, after A.D. 1682.

47. Macpherſon, *Hiſt. Brit.* chap. vi.

PART II. perjury had gone its utmoſt length. Enraged at this diſappointment, the court endeavoured to influence the election of the magiſtrates, and ſucceeded; but as that conteſt, it was perceived, might be to renew every year, ſomething more deciſive was reſolved upon. A writ of *Quo Warranto* was accordingly iſſued againſt the city: that is, an inquiry into the validity of a corporation charter, which is preſumed to be defective, or to have been forfeited by ſome offence, to be proved in the courſe of ſuit. And although the cauſe of the city was powerfully defended, and the offences pleaded againſt it of the moſt frivolous kind, judgement was given in favour of the crown [48]. The aldermen and common-council, in humble ſupplication, waited upon the king; and Charles, who had now obtained his end, agreed to reſtore their charter, but on ſuch terms as would put the proud capital entirely in his power. He reſerved to himſelf the *approbation* of the principal magiſtrates; with this ſpecial proviſo, that ſhould his majeſty twice diſapprove of the lord-mayor or ſheriffs elected, he might, by his own commiſſion, appoint others in their room.

A. D. 1682.

A. D. 1683.

FILLED with conſternation at the fate of London, and convinced how ineffectual a conteſt with the court would prove, moſt of the other corporations in England ſurrendered their charters into the king's hands, and paid large ſums for ſuch new ones as he was pleaſed to frame. By theſe means a fatal ſtab was given to the conſtitution. The nomination of all the civil magiſtrates, with the diſpoſal of all offices of power

48. Soon after the Revolution, this judgment was reverſed by act of parliament; and it was at the ſame time enacted, that the privileges of the city of London ſhall never be forfeited by any delinquency whatever in the members of the corporation. Stat. 2 W. and M.

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or profit, in every corporation in the kingdom, was in a manner veſted in the crown; and as more than three-fourths of the houſe of commons are choſen by the boroughs, the court was made ſure of an undiſputed majority. A perfect deſpotiſm was eſtabliſhed. A. D. 1683.

In ſuch times, when it was become dangerous even to complain, reſiſtance might be imprudent; but no attempt for the recovery of legal liberty could well be criminal, in men who had been born free. A project of this kind had for ſome time been entertained by a ſet of determined men, among whom were ſome of the heads of the Country Party, though various cauſes had hitherto prevented it from being brought to maturity; particularly the impeachment of the earl of Shafteſbury, the framer of the plot, and his unexpected departure for Holland, where he ſoon after died. But the zeal of the conſpirators, which had begun to languiſh, was rekindled by the ſeizure of the corporation-charters, and a regular plan for an inſurrection was formed. This buſineſs was committed to a council of ſix; the members of which were, the duke of Monmouth, the king's natural ſon, lord Ruſſell, ſon of the earl of Bedford, the earl of Eſſex, lord Howard, the famous Algernon Sidney, and John Hambden, grandſon of the illuſtrious patriot of that name.

These men had concerted an inſurrection in the city of London, where their influence was great; in Scotland, by an agreement with the earl of Argyle, who engaged to bring the Covenanters into the field; and in the Weſt of England, by the aſſiſtance of the friends of liberty in that quarter. They had even taken meaſures for ſurpriſing the king's guards, though without any deſign of hurting his perſon; the exclu-

ſion of the duke of York, and the redreſs of grievances, which they had found could not be obtained in a parliamentary way, being all they propoſed by riſing in arms. Sidney and Eſſex, indeed, are ſaid to have embraced the idea of a republic; but Ruſſell and Hambden, the more moderate and popular conſpirators, had no views but the reſtoration of the broken conſtitution of their country, and the ſecuring of the civil and religious liberties of the nation.

WHILE theſe important objects were in contemplation, but before any blow had been ſtruck, or even the time fixed for ſuch a purpoſe, the patriotic conſpirators were betrayed by one of their aſſociates, named Rumſey. Lord Howard, a man of no principle, and in needy circumſtances, alſo became evidence for the crown, in hopes of pardon and reward. Others of leſs note followed the infamous example. On their combined evidence ſeveral of the conſpirators were ſeized, condemned, and executed. Among theſe, the moſt diſtinguiſhed were Ruſſell and Sidney. Both died with the intrepidity of men who had reſolved to hazard their lives in the field, in order to break the fetters of ſlavery, and reſcue themſelves and their fellow-ſubjects from an ignominious deſpotiſm [49]. Monmouth,

49. Lord Grey's *Hiſt. of the Rye Houſe Plot. State Trials*, vol iii. Law, if not juſtice, was violated in order to procure the condemnation of Sidney, whoſe talents the king feared. Ruſſell's popularity proved no leſs fatal to him. He was univerſally adored by the nation, and therefore a neceſſary victim in ſuch times. Charles accordingly reſiſted every attempt to ſave him; for he ſcorned, on his trial, to deny his ſhare in the concerted inſurrection. In vain did lady Ruſſell, the daughter of the loyal and virtuous Southampton, throw herſelf at the royal feet, and crave mercy for her huſband: in vain did the earl of Bedford offer an hundred thouſand pounds, through the mediation of the all-prevailing ducheſs

Monmouth, who had abſconded, ſurrendered on a promiſe of pardon; Eſſex put an end to his life in the Tower; and ſufficient proof not being found againſt Hambden to make his crime capital, he was loaded with an exorbitant fine; which, as it was beyond his ability to pay, was equivalent to the ſentence of perpetual impriſonment [50].

THE defeating of this conſpiracy, known by the name of the *Rye-houſe Plot*, contributed ſtill farther to ſtrengthen the hands of government already too ſtrong. The king was univerſally congratulated on his eſcape; new addreſſes were preſented to him; and the doctrine of implicit ſubmiſſion to the civil magiſtrate, or an unlimited paſſive obedience, was more openly taught. The heads of the univerſity of Oxford, under pretence of condemning certain doctrines, which they denominated republican, went even ſo far as to paſs a ſolemn decree in favour of abſolute monarchy. The perſecution was renewed againſt the Proteſtant ſectaries, and all the moſt zealous friends of freedom, who were proſecuted with the utmoſt ſeve-

ducheſs of Portſmouth, for the life of his ſon. The king was inexorable. And in order to put a ſtop to all farther importunity, he ſaid in reply to the earl of Dartmouth, one of his favourite courtiers, and lord Ruſſell's declared enemy, but who yet adviſed a pardon—"I muſt have his "life, or he will have mine!" (Dalrymple's *Append.* and *Mem.* part i.) "My death," ſaid Ruſſell, with a conſolatory preſcience, when he found his fate was inevitable, "will be of more ſervice to my country, than "my life could have been!" Id. ibid.

50. Burnet, vol. ii. The ſeverity of Charles, in puniſhing theſe over-zealous friends of freedom, ſeems to have been intended to ſtrike terror into the whole popular party: and unfortunately for the criminals, a conſpiracy of an inferior kind, which aimed at the king's life, being diſcovered at the ſame time, afforded him too good a pretext for his rigour. The *aſſaſſination plot* was confounded, on all the trials, with that for an *inſurrection*.

PART II. A. D. 1684.

verity. The perverſion of juſtice was carried to a ſtill greater height by the court; and the duke of York was recalled from Scotland, and reſtored to the office of high admiral, without taking the Teſt.

THIS violation of an expreſs act of parliament could not fail to give offence to the more diſcerning part of the nation; but the duke's arbitrary counſels, and the great favour and indulgence ſhewn to the Catholics, through his influence, were more general cauſes of complaint. He, indeed, held entirely the reins of government, and left the king to purſue his favourite amuſements; to loiter with his miſtreſſes, and laugh with his courtiers. Hence the celebrated ſaying of Waller:—"The king is not only deſirous "that the duke ſhould ſucceed him, but is reſolved, "out of ſpite to his parliament, to make him reign "even in his life-time."

APPREHENSIVE however of new conſpiracies, or ſecretly ſtruck with the iniquity of his adminiſtration, Charles is ſaid ſeriouſly to have projected a change of meaſures. He was frequently overheard to remonſtrate warmly with his brother; and on finding him obſtinate in his violent counſels, he reſolved once more to baniſh him the court, to call a parliament, and throw himſelf wholly on the affections of his people. A. D. 1685. While revolving this idea, he was ſeized with a fit, reſembling an apoplexy; which, after an interval of reaſon, carried him off in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and not without ſuſpicions of poiſon [51]. Theſe ſuſpicions fell not on the duke of York, but on ſome of the ducheſs of Portſmouth's Roman catholic ſervants; who are ſuppoſed to have been worked upon by her confeſſor, to

51. Burnet, vol. ii.

whom

whom ſhe had communicated the king's intentions, or by thoſe her confeſſor had truſted with the ſecret [52]. LETTER XIV. A. D. 1685.

THE great lines of Charles's character I have already had occaſion to delineate. As a prince, he was void of ambition, and deſtitute of a proper ſenſe of his dignity, in relation to foreign politics. In regard to domeſtic politics, he was able and artful, but mean and diſingenuous. As a huſband he was unfaithful, and neglectful of the queen's perſon, as well as of the reſpect due to her character. As a gentleman and companion, he was elegant, eaſy, gay, and facetious; but having little ſenſibility of heart, and a very bad opinion of human nature, he appears to have been incapable of friendſhip or gratitude. As a lover, however, he was generous, and ſeemingly even affectionate. He recommended, with his lateſt breath, the ducheſs of Portſmouth whom he had loaded with benefits, and her ſon, the duke of Richmond, to his brother: and he earneſtly requeſted him not to let poor Nell ſtarve [53]!—This was Nell Gwyn, whom he had formerly taken from the ſtage; and who, though no longer regarded as a miſtreſs, had ſtill ſerved to amuſe him in a vacant hour [54]. So warm an attachment, in his laſt moments, to the objects of an unlawful paſſion, has been regarded, by a great divine and popular hiſtorian, as a blemiſh in the character of Charles. But the philoſopher judges differently: he is glad to find, that ſo profligate a prince was capable of any

52. Id. ibid. 53 Burnet, ubi ſup.

54. It may ſeem ſomewhat unaccountable that Charles, after ſo long an acquaintance, ſhould have left Nell in ſuch a neceſſitous condition, as to be in danger of ſtarving. But this requeſt muſt only be conſidered as a ſolicitous expreſſion of tenderneſs.

PART II. ſincere attachment, and conſiders even this ſympathy with the objects of ſenſuality, when the illuſions of ſenſe could no longer deceive, as an honour to his memory.

THE religion of Charles, and his receiving the ſacrament, on his death-bed, from Huddleſton, a popiſh prieſt, while he refuſed it from the divines of the church of England, and diſregarded their exhortations, have alſo afforded matter of reproach and altercation. But if the king was really a Roman catholic, as is generally believed, and as I have ventured to affirm on reſpectable authorities [55], he could neither be blamed for concealing his religion from his ſubjects, nor for dying in that faith which he had embraced. If, as others contend, he was not a catholic, his brother took a very extraordinary ſtep, in making him die in the Romiſh communion. But if he was ſo weak, when Huddleſton was introduced to him by the duke of York, as to be unable to refuſe compliance; if he agreed to receive the ſacrament from the divines of the church of England, but had not power to ſwallow the elements [56]; theſe circumſtances prove nothing but his own feeble condition, and the blind bigotry of his brother. The truth, however, ſeems to be, That Charles, while in high health, was of no particular religion; but that, having been early initiated in the catholic faith, he always fled to the altar of ſuperſtition, when his ſpirits were low, or when his life was thought in danger.

WE muſt now, my dear Philip, return to the line of general hiſtory, and examine the farther progreſs

55. Burnet, Halifax, Hume, &c. In confirmation of theſe authorities, ſee Barillon's *Letter to Lewis* XIV. Feb. 18, 1685, in Dalrymple's *Appendix*.

56. Macpherſon, *Hiſt. Brit.* vol. i. chap. iv.

of

of the ambition of Lewis XIV. before we carry lower the affairs of England.

LETTER XV.

A General View of the Affairs on the Continent, from the Peace of NIMEGUEN *in* 1678, *to the League of* AUGSBURG, *in* 1687.

LETTER XV.

A. D. 1678.

THE peace of Nimeguen, as might have been foreſeen by the allies, inſtead of ſetting bounds to the ambition of Lewis XIV. only left him leiſure to perfect that ſcheme of univerſal monarchy, or abſolute ſovereignty in Europe at leaſt, into which he was flattered by his poets and orators; and which, at length, rouſed a new and more powerful confederacy againſt him. While the empire, Spain, and Holland, diſbanded their ſupernumerary troops, Lewis ſtill kept up all his: in the midſt of profound peace, he maintained a formidable army, and acted as if he had been already the ſole ſovereign in Europe, and all other princes but his vaſſals. He eſtabliſhed judicatures for reuniting ſuch territories as had anciently depended upon the three biſhopricks, Metz, Toul, and Verdun; upon Alſace, or any of his late conqueſts. Theſe arbitrary courts enquired into titles buried in the moſt remote antiquity: they cited the neighbouring princes, and even the king of Spain, to appear before them, and to render homage to the king of France, or to behold the confiſcation of their poſſeſſions.

No European prince, ſince the time of Charlemagne, had acted ſo much like a maſter and a judge as

PART II. as Lewis XIV. The elector Palatine, and the elector
A. D. 1680. of Treves, were diveſted of the ſignories of Falkembourg, Germarſheim, Valdentz, and other places, by his imperious tribunals; and he laid claim to the ancient and free city of Straſburg, as the capital of Alſace. This large and rich city, which was miſtreſs of the Rhine, by means of its bridge over that river, had long attracted the eye of the French monarch: and his miniſter Louvois, by the moſt artful conduct,
A. D. 1681. at laſt put him in poſſeſſion of it. He ordered troops to enter Lorrain, Franche Comté, and Alſace, under pretence of employing them in working on the fortifications in theſe provinces. But, according to concert, they all aſſembled in the neighbourhood of Straſburg, to the number of twenty thouſand men, and took poſſeſſion of the ground between the Rhine and the city, as well as of the redoubt that covered the bridge. Louvois appeared at their head, and demanded that the town ſhould be put under the protection of his maſter. The magiſtrates had been corrupted, the inhabitants were all conſternation: the city opened its gates, after having ſecured its privileges by capitulation. Vauban, who had fortified ſo many places, here exhauſted his art, and rendered Straſburg the ſtrongeſt barrier of France [1].

Nor did Lewis behave with leſs arrogance on the ſide of the Low Countries. He demanded the county of Aloſt from the Spaniards, on the moſt frivolous, and even ridiculous pretence. His miniſter, he ſaid, had forgot to inſert it in the articles of peace; and as it was not immediately yielded to him, he
A. D. 1683 blockaded Luxemburg [2]. Alarmed at theſe ambitious pretenſions, the empire, Spain, and Holland, began to

1. *Hiſt. d'Alſace*, liv. xxiii. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xiii. 2. Voltaire, ubi ſup.

take

take meaſures for reſtraining the encroachments of France. But Spain was yet too feeble to enter upon a new war, and the imperial armies were required in another quarter, to oppoſe a more preſſing danger. LETTER XV. A. D. 1683.

THE Hungarians, whoſe privileges Leopold had never ſufficiently reſpected, had again broke out into rebellion; and Tekeli, the head of the inſurgents, had called in the Turks to the ſupport of his countrymen. By the aſſiſtance of the baſha of Buda, he ravaged Sileſia, and reduced many important places in Hungary; while Mahomet IV. the reigning ſultan, was preparing the moſt formidable force that the Ottoman empire had ever ſent againſt Chriſtendom.

LEOPOLD, foreſeeing that the gathering ſtorm would finally break upon Germany, beſide demanding the aſſiſtance of the princes of the empire, concluded an offenſive and defenſive alliance with John Sobieſki, king of Poland. Meanwhile the grand vizier, Kara Muſtapha, paſſing through Hungary, at the head of fifty thouſand janizaries, thirty thouſand ſpahis, and two hundred thouſand common men, aſſembled for the occaſion, with baggage and artillery in proportion to ſuch a multitude, advanced toward Vienna. The duke of Lorrain, who commanded the imperial forces, attempted in vain to oppoſe the progreſs of the invader. The Turks, under the grand-vizier, took the right of the Danube, and Tekeli, with the Hungarians, the left. Seeing his capital threatened on every ſide, the emperor retired firſt to Lintz, and afterward to Paſſau. Two thirds of the inhabitants followed the court; and nothing was to be ſeen, on all ſides, but fugitives, equipages, and carriages laden with

PART II. A. D. 1683.

with moveables [3]. The whole empire was thrown into conſternation.

THE garriſon of Vienna amounted to about fifteen thouſand men, and the citizens able to bear arms to near fifty thouſand. The Turks inveſted the town on the 17th of July; and they had not only deſtroyed the ſuburbs, but made a breach in the body of the place by the firſt of September. The duke of Lorrain had been ſo fortunate as to prevent the Hungarians from joining the Turks, but was unable to lend the garriſon any relief; and an aſſault was every moment expected, when a deliverer appeared. John Sobieſki, king of Poland, having joined his troops to thoſe of Saxony, Bavaria, and the Circles, made a ſignal to the beſieged from the top of the mountain of Calemberg, and inſpired them with new hopes. Kara Muſtapha, who, from a contempt of the Chriſtians, had neglected to puſh the aſſault, and who, amidſt the progreſs of ruin, had wantoned in luxury, was now made ſenſible of his miſtake, when too late to repair it.

THE Chriſtians, to the number of ſixty-four thouſand, deſcended the mountain, under the command of the king of Poland, the duke of Lorrain, and an incredible number of German princes. The grand vizier advanced to meet them at the head of the main body of the Turkiſh army, while he ordered an aſſault to be made upon the city with twenty thouſand men, who were left in the trenches. The aſſault failed; and the Turks, being ſeized with a panic, were routed almoſt without reſiſtance. Only five hundred of the victors fell, and not above one thouſand of the

3. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. ii. Barre, tom. x.

vanquiſhed.

vanquiſhed. And ſo great was the terror, and ſo precipitate the flight of the infidels, that they abandoned not only their tents, artillery, and baggage, but left behind them even the famous ſtandard of Mahomet, which was ſent as a preſent to the pope[4]! The Turks received another defeat in the plain of Barcan; and all Hungary, on both ſides of the Danube, was recovered by the imperial arms. LETTER XV. A.D. 1683.

THE king of France, who had ſupported the malcontents in Hungary, and who encouraged the invaſion of the Turks, raiſed however the blockade of Luxemburg, when they approached Vienna. "I "will never," ſaid he, "attack a Chriſtian prince, "while Chriſtendom is in danger from the Infidels[5]." He was confident when he made this declaration, that the imperial city would be taken, and had an army on the frontiers of Germany, ready to oppoſe the farther progreſs of thoſe very Turks whom he had invited thither! By becoming the protector of the empire, he hoped to get his ſon elected king of the Romans[6]. But this ſcheme being defeated, and the apprehenſions of Chriſtendom removed, by the relief of Vienna and the expulſion of the Turks, Lewis returned to the ſiege of Luxemburg; and reduced, in a ſhort time, not only that place, but alſo Coutray and Dixmude. A.D. 1684.

ENRAGED at theſe violences, the Spaniards declared war, and attempted to retaliate. And the prince of Orange was eager for a general confederacy againſt France; but not being able to induce his uncle, the king of England, to take part in it, he laid aſide the deſign. The emperor, ſtill deeply involved in the war with the Turks and Hungarians, could make no ef-

4. Id. Ibid. 5. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xiii. 6. Voltaire, ubi ſup.

fort

PART II. A. D. 1684.

fort on the ſide of Flanders; and the Spaniards alone were unequal to the conteſt in which, forgetting their weakneſs, they had raſhly engaged. A truce of twenty years was, therefore, concluded by Spain and the empire with France at Ratiſbon. The principal articles of this temporary treaty were, That Lewis ſhould reſtore Coutray and Dixmude, but retain poſſeſſion of Luxemburg, Straſburg, the fortreſs of Kehl, and part of the reunions made by his arbitrary courts eſtabliſhed at Metz and Briſac [7].

THE glory and greatneſs of the French monarch were ſtill farther extended by means of his naval power. He had now raiſed his lately created marine to a degree of a force that exceeded the hopes of France, and increaſed the fears of Europe. He had upward of an hundred ſhips of the line, and ſixty thouſand ſeamen [8]. The magnificent port of Toulon, in the Mediterranean, was conſtructed at an immenſe expence; and that of Breſt, upon the ocean, was formed on as extenſive a plan. Dunkirk and Havre-de-Grace were filled with ſhips; and Rochefort, in ſpite of nature, was converted into a convenient harbour. Nor did Lewis, though engaged in no naval war, allow his ſhips to lie inactive in theſe ports. He ſent out ſquadrons, at different times, to clear the ſeas of the Barbary pirates: he ordered Algiers twice to be bombarded; and he had the pleaſure not only of humbling that haughty predatory city, and of obliging the Algerines to releaſe all their Chriſtian ſlaves, but of ſubjecting Tunis and Tripoli to the ſame conditions [9].

THE republic of Genoa, for a ſlight offence, was no leſs ſeverely treated than Algiers. The Genoeſe

7. Dumont, *Corp. Diplom.* tom. vii. 8. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xiii. 9. Id. Ibid.

were

were accuſed of having ſold bombs and gunpowder to the Algerines; and they had farther incurred the diſpleaſure of Lewis, by engaging to build four gallies for the Spaniards. He commanded them, under pain of his reſentment, not to launch thoſe gallies. Incenſed at this inſult on their independency, the Genoeſe paid no regard to the ménace. They ſeemed even deſirous to ſhew their contempt of ſuch arrogance: but they had ſoon occaſion to repent their temerity. Fourteen ſhips of the line, twenty gallies, ten bomb-ketches, and ſeveral frigates, immediately ſailed from Toulon, under old Duqueſne; and appearing before Genoa, ſuddenly reduced to a heap of ruins part of thoſe magnificent buildings, which have obtained for that city the appellation of PROUD. Four thouſand men were landed, and the ſuburb of St. Peter d'Arena was burnt. It now became neceſſary for the Genoeſe to make ſubmiſſions, in order to prevent the total deſtruction of their capital. Lewis demanded, that the Doge, and four of the principal ſenators, ſhould come and implore his clemency in his palace at Verſailles; and, in order to prevent the Genoeſe from eluding this ſatisfaction, or depriving him of any part of his triumph, he inſiſted that the Doge, who ſhould be ſent to deprecate his vengeance, ſhould be continued in office, notwithſtanding the perpetual law of the republic, by which a Doge is deprived of his dignity the moment he quits the city [10]. Theſe humiliating conditions were complied with. Imperialé Laſcaro, Doge of Genoa, in his ceremonial habit, accompanied by four of the principal ſenators, appeared before Lewis in a ſupplicating poſture. The Doge, who was a man of wit and vivacity, on being aſked by the French courtiers what he

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A. D. 1684.

A.D. 1685.

10. Voltaire, ubi ſub.

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ſaw moſt extraordinary at Verſailles, very pointedly replied—"To ſee myſelf here!"

THE grandeur of Lewis XIV. was now at its higheſt point of elevation; but the ſinews of his real power were already ſomewhat ſlackened, by the death of the great Colbert. That excellent miniſter, to whom France owes her moſt valuable manufactures, her commerce, and her navy, had enabled his maſter, by the order and œconomy with which he conducted the finances, to ſupport the moſt expenſive wars; to dazzle with his pomp all the nations of Europe; and to corrupt its principal courts, without diſtreſſing his people. He has, however, been accuſed of not ſufficiently encouraging agriculture, and of paying too much attention to the manufactures connected with luxury. But theſe which, for a time, made all her neighbours in a manner tributary to France, he was ſenſible only could ſupply the exceſſive drain of war, and the oſtentatious waſte of the king. He was not at liberty to follow his own judgment. The neceſſities of the ſtate obliged him to adopt a temporary policy; and to encourage the more ſumptuous manufactures at the expence of general induſtry, and conſequently of population.

BUT in the proſecution of this ſyſtem, which though radically defective, was the beſt that could be adopted in ſuch circumſtances, Colbert employed the wiſeſt meaſures. He not only eſtabliſhed the moſt ingenious, and leaſt known manufactures, ſuch as ſilks, velvets, laces, tapeſtries, carpets; but he eſtabliſhed them in the cheapeſt and moſt convenient places, and encouraged, without diſtinction, perſons of all nations and all religions. Above the reſt, the Hugo-

nots, or French Proteſtants, ſeemed to claim his attention. Having long loſt their political conſequence, they devoted themſelves chiefly to manufactures. They every where recommended themſelves by their induſtry and ingenuity, which were often rewarded with great opulence. This opulence begot envy, envy produced jealouſy; and ſoon after the death of Colbert, who had always protected and patronized them, theſe uſeful and ingenious ſectaries, without the imputation of any crime, were expoſed to a cruel and impolitic perſecution, which reduced them to the neceſſity of abandoning their native country.

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THIS perſecution, whoſe progreſs was marked by the *revocation* of the famous Edict of Nantz, which ſecured to the French Proteſtants the free exerciſe of their religion, and was underſtood to be perpetual, throws peculiar diſgrace on the poliſhed court and enlightened reign of Lewis XIV. Even before the revocation of that edict, ſo blindly bigotted, or violent and ſhort-ſighted, were the French miniſters, that the Proteſtants were not only excluded from all civil employments, but rendered incapable of holding any ſhare in the principal ſilk manufactories, though they only could carry them on to advantage [11]!

ONE might think, from ſuch regulations, that thoſe miniſters had lived in the darkeſt ages, or were determined to ruin the ſtate. Nor were their ordinances, after repealing the Edict of Nantz, leſs impolitic or abſurd. They baniſhed all the Proteſtant paſtors, without once ſuſpecting the flock would follow them; and when that evil was perceived, it was in-

11. *Mem. de Noailles*, par l'Abbé Millot, tom. i.

PART II. A. D. 1685. effectually decreed, that such as attempted to leave the kingdom should be sent to the gallies. Those who remained, were prohibited even the private exercise of their religion on pain of death; and, by a singular piece of barbarity, the children of Protestants were ordered to be taken from their parents, and committed to their nearest Catholic relations; or, in default of those, to such other good Catholics as the judges should appoint for their education. All the terrors of mili-

A.D. 1686. tary execution, and all the artifices of priestcraft, were employed to make converts; and such as relapsed, were sentenced to the most cruel punishments. A twentieth part of the whole body was put to death in a short time, and a price was set on the heads of the rest, who were hunted like wild beasts upon the mountains [12]. By these severities, in spite of the guards that were placed on the frontiers, and every other tyrannical restraint, France was deprived of near six hundred thousand of her most valuable inhabitants, who carried their wealth, their industry, and their skill in ingenious manufactures into England, Holland, and Germany; where Lewis XIV. found, in his own fugitive, and once faithful subjects, not only formidable rivals in commerce, but powerful enemies burning with revenge, and gallant soldiers ready to set bounds to his ambition.

But while Lewis thus persecuted the French Protestants, contrary to all the principles of humanity and sound policy, he was no dupe to the court of Rome. On the contrary, he did every thing in his power to mortify Innocent XI. a man of virtue and abilities, who now filled the papal chair. He carried ecclesiastical disputes with him as far as possible, with-

12. Id. ibid. See also Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xxxii.

out

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out separating the Gallican church entirely from the apostolic see. In civil affairs, the contest was still warmer, and took its rise from a singular abuse. The ambassadors of popish princes at Rome extended what they called their *quarters*, or the right of freedom and asylum, to a great distance from their houses. This pernicious privilege rendered one half of Rome a certain refuge for all sorts of criminals; and, by another privilege, as whatever entered Rome, under the sanction of an ambassador's name, paid no duty, the trade of the city suffered, and the state was defrauded of its revenue. In order to remedy these abuses, Innocent prevailed on the emperor and the king of Spain to forego such odious rights; and an application to the same purpose was made to the king of France, entreating him to concur with the other princes in promoting the tranquillity and good order of Rome. Lewis, who was already dissatisfied with the pope, haughtily replied, that he had never made the conduct of others an example to himself; but, on the contrary, would make himself an example to others [13]! He accordingly sent his ambassador to Rome surrounded with guards and other armed attendants; and Innocent was able to oppose him only with excommunications.

THIS triumph over the spiritual father of Christendom, was the last insult on the dignity of sovereigns, which Lewis XIV. was suffered to commit with impunity. The emperor had taken Buda from the Turks, after an obstinate siege: he had defeated them with great slaughter at Mohatz: he had entirely subdued the Hungarian malcontents: he had even got the crown of Hungary declared hereditary in the house of Austria, and his son Joseph proclaimed king of that

13. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xiii.

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country. Though ſtill engaged in hoſtilities with the Infidels, he had now leiſure to turn his eye towards France; nor could he do it with indifference. The ſame vain-glorious ambition which had prompted Lewis to tyrannize over the pope, and to perſecute his Proteſtant ſubjects, That, to uſe the language of his hiſtorians, as there was ONE king there might be but ONE religion in the monarchy, and which juſtly alarmed all Germany and the North, at length awakened the reſentment of Leopold.

A LEAGUE had been already concluded by the whole empire at Augſburg, in order to reſtrain the encroachments of France, and to vindicate the objects of the treaties of Weſtphalia, the Pyrenees, and Nimeguen. And an ambitious attempt of Lewis XIV, to get the cardinal de Furſtemberg, one of his own creatures, made elector of Cologne, in oppoſition to the emperor, at once ſhewed the neceſſity of ſuch an aſſociation, and lighted anew the flames of war in Germany and the Low Countries. Spain and Holland had become principals in the league; Denmark, Sweden, and Savoy were afterward gained; ſo that the acceſſion of England ſeemed only wanting to render the confederacy complete, and that was at laſt acquired.—But, before I enter into particulars, we muſt take a view of the unhappy reign of James II. and the great change in the Engliſh conſtitution with which it was terminated.

LETTER

LETTER XVI.

GREAT BRITAIN *and* IRELAND, *during the Reign of* JAMES II.

LETTER XVI. A. D. 1685.

CHARLES II. by his popular character and temporiſing policy, had ſo generally reconciled the Engliſh nation to his arbitrary adminiſtration, that the obnoxious religion, and even the blind bigotry of his brother, may perhaps be conſidered as fortunate circumſtances for the Britiſh conſtitution. For had James II. been a Proteſtant, he might quietly have eſtabliſhed deſpotiſm in England; or had he, as he formerly promiſed, made his religion a private affair between God and his own conſcience, he might ſtill have been able to ſubdue the ſmall remains of liberty, and to eſtabliſh that abſolute government which he loved. But the juſtice of theſe reflections will beſt appear from the facts by which they were ſuggeſted.

THE new king, who was fifty years of age when he aſcended the throne, began his reign with a very popular act. He immediately aſſembled the privy council, and declared, That although he had been repreſented as a man of arbitrary principles, and though determined not to relinquiſh the juſt rights and prerogatives of the crown, he was reſolved to maintain the eſtabliſhed government, both in church and ſtate, being ſenſible that the laws of England were ſufficient to make him as great a monarch as he could wiſh[1]. This declaration gave great ſatisfaction to the council, and was received with the warmeſt ap-

1. Printed *Declaration*.

PART II. A. D. 1685.

plauſe by the nation. As James had hitherto been conſidered as a prince of unimpeached honour and ſincerity, no one doubted but his intentions were conformable to his profeſſions. "We have now," it was commonly ſaid, "the word of a king; and a word "never yet broken[2]!". It was repreſented as a greater ſecurity to the conſtitution than any that laws could give. Addreſſes poured in from all quarters, full not only of expreſſions of duty, but of the moſt ſervile adulation[3].

But this popularity was of ſhort continuance. The nation was ſoon convinced, that the king either was not ſincere in his promiſe to preſerve the conſtitution inviolate, or entertained ideas of that conſtitution very different from thoſe of his people, and ſuch as could yield no ſecurity to their civil or religious liberties. He went openly, and with all the enſigns of his dignity, to maſs, an illegal worſhip: he was even ſo imprudent as to urge others to follow his example: he ſent an agent to Rome, in order to make ſubmiſſions to the pope; and he levied taxes without the authority of parliament[4].

James, however, ſoon found the neceſſity of aſſembling a parliament; and, in conſequence of the

2. Burnet, book iv.

3. The addreſs from the quakers was, however, diſtinguiſhed by that plainneſs which has ſo long characteriſed the ſect. "We are come," ſaid they, "to teſtify our ſorrow for the death of our good friend "Charles, and our joy for thy being made our governor. We are told "thou art not of the perſuaſion of the church of England, any more "than we; wherefore, we hope, thou wilt grant us the ſame liberty "which thou alloweſt thyſelf: which doing, we wiſh thee all manner "of happineſs."

4. Burnet, book iv. Carte's *Life of Ormond*, vol. iii.

influence

LETTER XIII.

A. D. 1685.

influence which the crown had acquired in the boroughs, by the violation of the corporation-charters, a houſe of commons was procured as compliant as the moſt arbitrary prince could have wiſhed. If they had been otherwiſe diſpoſed, the king's ſpeech was more calculated to work on their fears than their affections; to inflame oppoſition than to conciliate favour, and ſtrongly indicated the violence of his principles. After repeating his promiſe to govern according to the laws, and to preſerve the eſtabliſhed religion, he told the commons, that he poſitively expected they would grant him, during his life, the ſame revenue which his brother had enjoyed. "I might uſe many arguments," ſaid he, "to enforce this demand; the benefit of trade, the ſupport of the navy, the neceſſities of the crown, and the well being of the government itſelf, which I muſt not ſuffer to be precarious; but I am confident that your own conſideration, and your ſenſe of what is juſt and reaſonable, will ſuggeſt to you whatever might on this occaſion be enlarged upon. There is indeed one popular argument," added he, "which may be urged againſt compliance with my demands. Men may think, that by *feeding me* from *time* to *time* with ſuch ſupplies *as they think convenient*, they will better ſecure *frequent meetings of parliament*: but as this is the firſt time I ſpeak to you from the throne, I will anſwer this argument once for all. I muſt plainly tell you, That ſuch an expedient would be very improper to employ with ME; and that the beſt way to engage me to *meet* you *often*, is always to *uſe* me *well*."[5]

5. *Journals*, May 19, 1685.

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In return to this imperious ſpeech, which a ſpirited parliament would have received with indignation, both houſes preſented an addreſs of thanks, without ſo much as a debate; and the commons unanimouſly voted, "That the revenue enjoyed by the late king, "at the time of his death, ſhall be ſettled on his pre-"ſent majeſty, during life." Nor did the generoſity of the commons ſtop here. The king having demanded a farther ſupply for removing the anticipations on the revenue, and other temporary purpoſes, they revived certain duties on wines and vinegar, which had been granted to the late king; but which, having expired during the bad humours of his latter parliaments, had not been renewed. To theſe were added ſome impoſitions on tobacco and ſugar; all which, under the rigid œconomy of James, rendered the crown, in time of peace, independent of the parliament [6].

The Scottiſh parliament went yet farther than that of England. Both lords and commons declared their abhorrence of all principles and poſitions derogatory to the king's *ſacred*, *ſupreme*, *ſovereign*, *abſolute* authority; of which none, they ſaid, whether ſingle perſons or collective bodies, can participate but in dependence on him, and by commiſſion from him. They offered, in the name of the nation, to ſupport with their lives and fortunes their preſent ſovereign and his lawful heirs, in the poſſeſſion of the crown and its prerogatives, againſt all mortal men: and they annexed the whole exciſe, both of inland and foreign commodities, for ever to the crown [7].

6. James II. 1685. 7. Burnet, book iv. Hume, vol. viii.

This

LETTER XVI.

THIS profuſe liberality of the parliaments of the two kingdoms, and the general, and even abject ſubmiſſion of the two nations, gave the king reaſon to believe that his throne was as firmly eſtabliſhed as that of any European monarch. But, while every thing remained in tranquillity at home, a ſtorm was gathering abroad to diſturb his repoſe; and which, although diſſipated without much trouble, may be conſidered as a prelude to that great revolution which finally deprived him of his crown, and condemned himſelf and his poſterity to a dependent and fugitive life among foreigners. A.D. 1685.

THE prince of Orange, ever ſince the propoſed excluſion of his father-in-law, had raiſed his hopes to the Engliſh throne. He had entered deeply into intrigues with the miniſters of Charles II. he had encouraged the parliamentary leaders in their violent oppoſition; and, unaccountable as it may ſeem, it appears that he ſecretly abetted the ambitious views of the duke of Monmouth, though they both aimed at the ſame object [8]. It is at leaſt certain that he received the duke with great kindneſs, and treated him with the higheſt marks of reſpect, after he had been pardoned by a fond and indulgent father, for his unnatural ſhare in the Rye-houſe plot, but ordered to leave the kingdom on a new ſymptom of diſaffection; that on the acceſſion of James II. and when the prince of Orange was profeſſing the ſtrongeſt attachment to his father-in-law, Monmouth, Argyle, and other Engliſh and Scottiſh fugitives in Holland, were ſuffered, under his ſecret protection, to provide themſelves privately with neceſſaries, and to form the plan

8. See king James's *Mem.* in Macpherſon's *Original Papers*, vol. i. and Count D'Avaux's *Negociations*, tom. i. ii. iii. iv.

of

PART II. A. D. 1685.

of an invaſion, in hopes of rouſing to arms the diſſatisfied part of the two kingdoms 9.

ARGYLE, who was firſt ready, ſailed for Scotland with three veſſels, carrying arms and ammunition; and, ſoon after his arrival in the Highlands, he found himſelf at the head of two thouſand men. But the king's authority was too firmly eſtabliſhed in Scotland to be ſhaken by ſuch a force. Early made ſenſible of this, Argyle was afraid to venture into the low country; where, if he had been able to keep the field, he might have met with ſupport from the Covenanters. At any rate, he ought to have hazarded the attempt, before the ardour of his adherents had leiſure to cool, or his well-wiſhers time to diſcern his danger, inſtead of waiting for an acceſſion of ſtrength among his mountains. But his ſituation, it muſt be owned, was at all times diſcouraging. Government, appriſed of his intended invaſion, had ordered all the conſiderable gentry of his clan to be thrown into priſon. The whole militia of the kingdom, to the number of twenty-two thouſand men, were ſoon under arms; and a third part of them, with all the regular forces, were now on their march to oppoſe him. The marquis of Athol preſſed him on one ſide; lord Charles Murray on the other; the duke of Gordon hung upon his rear; the earl of Dumbarton met him in front. His arms and ammunition were ſeized, his proviſions cut off. In this deſperate extremity, he endeavoured to force his way into the diſaffected part of the weſtern counties. He accordingly croſſed the river Leven, and afterward the Clyde; but no perſon ſhewed either courage or inclination to join him. His followers, who had ſuffered all the hardſhips of

9. Id. ibid.

famine.

famine and fatigue, gradually deſerted; and he himſelf being made priſoner, was carried to Edinburgh, and immediately executed on a former iniquitous ſentence [10]. Two Engliſh gentlemen excepted, his adherents, by diſperſing themſelves, eſcaped puniſhment.

A. D. 1685.

MEANWHILE the duke of Monmouth, according to agreement, had landed in the Weſt of England; and ſo great was his popularity, that although accompanied only by about fourſcore perſons, the number of his adherents ſoon increaſed to five thouſand. At the head of theſe, who were chiefly of the lower claſs, he entered Taunton; where he was received with ſuch extraordinary expreſſions of joy, that he iſſued a declaration aſſerting the legitimacy of his birth, and aſſumed the title of king. From Taunton he marched to Bridgewater, where he was received with equal affection, and proclaimed king by the magiſtrates, with all the formalities of their office. His followers hourly increaſed; and he was obliged every day, for want of arms, to diſmiſs great numbers who crowded to his ſtandard. He only, perhaps, needed conduct and abilities to have overturned his uncle's throne. Conſcious of his want of theſe, as well as of reſources, the nobility and gentry kept at a diſtance. He had no man of talents or courage, to adviſe with in the cloſet, or to aſſiſt him in the field. Lord Gray, his general of horſe, and whom he had the weakneſs to continue in the command, was to his own knowledge a coward; and he himſelf, though perſonally brave, allowed the expectation of the people to languiſh, without attempting any bold enterpriſe [11].

10. Burnet. Wodrow. Hume. 11. Burnet. Kennet. Ralph.

NOTE

PART II. A. D. 1685.

NOTWITHSTANDING this imprudent caution, and the news of Argyle's miſcarriage, Monmouth's followers continued to adhere to him, after all his hopes of ſucceſs had failed, and when he had even thoughts of providing for his own ſafety by flight. Rouſed to action by ſuch warm attachment, and encouraged by the proſpect of ſeizing an unexpected advantage, he July 5. attacked the king's forces, under the earl of Feverſham, at Sedgemoor, near Bridgewater; and had it not been for his own miſconduct, and the cowardice of lord Gray, he might have gained a deciſive victory. Though Gray and the cavalry fled in the beginning of the action, the undiſciplined infantry gallantly maintained the combat for three hours; and the duke himſelf, beſide his errors in generalſhip, quitted the field too early for an adventurer contending for a crown[12]. About fourteen hundred of the rebels were killed in the battle and purſuit, and nearly an equal number made priſoners.

MONMOUTH himſelf, with a ſingle attendant, eſcaped to a conſiderable diſtance from the ſcene of action; but his horſe at length failing him, he was reduced to the neceſſity of travelling on foot, and changed cloaths with a peaſant, in order to conceal himſelf from his purſuers. In that humble diſguiſe, he was found lying in the bottom a ditch, covered with weeds. He had in his pocket ſome green peas, which had been his only food for ſeveral days; and his ſpirits being exhauſted with hunger and fatigue, he burſt into tears, and behaved otherwiſe in a manner unworthy of his character. Even on his arrival in London, allured by the fond hope of life, he was induced to make the meaneſt ſubmiſſions, in order to pro-

12. Burnet, book iv.

cure a pardon [13]; though he might have been ſenſible, from the greatneſs of his own offences, and the king's unfeeling diſpoſition, that he could expect no mercy. After that hope failed him, he behaved with becoming dignity; and diſcovered great firmneſs and compoſure at his execution, though accompanied with many horrid circumſtances [14].

HAD James uſed his victory with moderation, this fortunate ſuppreſſion of a rebellion in the beginning of his reign would have tended much to ſtrengthen his authority; but the cruelty with which it was proſecuted, and the deluſive proſpects which it opened to his zeal for popery and unlimited power, proved the chief cauſe of his ruin. Such arbitrary principles had the court infuſed into its ſervants, that the earl of Feverſham, immediately after the battle of Sedgemoor, and while the ſoldiers were yet fatigued with ſlaughter, ordered above twenty of the inſurgents to be hanged, without any form of trial. But this inſtance of illegal ſeverity was forgotten in the ſuperior inhumanity of colonel Kirk, whoſe military executions were attended with circumſtances of wanton cruelty and barbarity. On his firſt entry into Bridgewater, he not only hanged nineteen priſoners without the leaſt inquiry into the nature of their guilt, but ordered a certain number to be executed while he and his company ſhould drink the king's health; and obſerving their feet to quiver, in the agonies of death, he commanded the drums to beat

13. Id ibid. See alſo James II. 1685.

14. Touched with pity, or unmanned by terror, at the noble preſence of Monmouth, and the part he was to perform, the executioner ſtruck him three times, without effect; and then threw aſide the axe, declaring that he was unable to finiſh the bloody office. The ſheriff obliged him to renew the attempt; and the duke's head was at laſt ſevered from his body.

and

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and the trumpets to ſound, ſaying he would give them muſic to their dancing [15]!

EVEN the inhumanities of Kirk were exceeded by the violence of lord chief juſtice Jefferys; who ſhewed the aſtoniſhed nation, that the rigours of law may equal, if not exceed, the ravages of military tyranny. A ſpecial commiſſion being iſſued to this man, whoſe diſpoſition was brutal and arbitrary, and who had already given ſeveral ſpecimens of his character, he ſet out, accompanied by four other judges, with a ſavage joy, as to a full harveſt of death. He opened his commiſſion firſt at Wincheſter, whence he proceeded to Dorceſter, Exeter, Taunton, and Wells, carrying every where along with him terror and conſternation. The juries, ſtruck with his menaces, gave their verdict with hurry and precipitation; ſo that many innocent perſons are ſuppoſed to have ſuffered. About five hundred priſoners were tried and condemned, in all: of theſe two hundred and fifty were executed: the reſt were tranſported, condemned to cruel whippings, or

15. Burnet. Kennet. Ralph.—One ſtory, commonly told of Kirk, is memorable in the hiſtory of human treachery and barbarity. A beautiful young maiden, bathed in tears, threw herſelf at his feet, and pleaded for the life of her brother. The brutal tyrant, inflamed with deſire, but not ſoftened into pity, promiſed to grant her requeſt, provided ſhe would yield to his wiſhes. She reluctantly complied with the cruel requeſt, without reflecting that the wretch who could make it was unworthy of credit or confidence. But ſhe had ſoon reaſon to know it. After paſſing the night with him, the wanton and perfidious ſavage ſhewed her in the morning, from the bed-room window, that beloved brother, for whom ſhe had ſacrificed her innocence, hanging on a gibbet, which he had ſecretly ordered to be erected for the purpoſe! Rage, indignation, and deſpair took at once poſſeſſion of her ſoul, and deprived her for ever of her ſenſes.

per-

permitted, as is ſaid, to purchaſe their pardon of the tyrannical and proſtituted chief juſtice [16]. LETTER XVI. A. D. 1685.

As if deſirous to take upon himſelf the odium of theſe ſevere executions, the king rewarded the inhumanity of Jefferys with a peerage and the office of chancellor: and he took care, on the meeting of parliament, more fully to open the eyes of the nation, and to realize all thoſe apprehenſions which had excited the violence of the Excluſioniſts. He plainly told the two houſes, That the militia, in which the nation truſted, having been found, during the late rebellion, altogether inſufficient for the ſafety of government, he had increaſed the regular forces to double their former number; and he demanded a freſh ſupply for the ſupport of this additional force. He alſo took notice, That he had *diſpenſed* with the Teſt Act, in favour of ſome Catholic officers; and, in order to cut ſhort all oppoſition, he declared, That having employed them to advantage in the time of need and danger, he was determined neither to expoſe them afterward to diſgrace, nor himſelf to the want of their ſervice [17]. Nov. 9.

Had James uſed his diſpenſing power without declaring it, no oppoſition would probably have been made to this dangerous exerciſe of prerogative by the preſent obſequious parliament. But to invade at once the civil conſtitution, to threaten the eſtabliſhed religion, to maintain a ſtanding army, and to require the concurrence of the two houſe to all theſe meaſures, exceeded the bounds of their patience. The com-

16. Ibid. What rendered theſe ſeverities leſs excuſable was, That moſt of the priſoners were perſons of low condition, who could never have diſturbed the tranquillity of Government. Burnet, book iv.

17. *Journals*, Nov. 9, 1685.

mons

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mons took into conſideration his majeſty's ſpeech: they proceeded to examine the diſpenſing power of the crown; and they voted an addreſs to the king againſt it. The lords appointed a day for taking the ſpeech into conſideration; and James, afraid that they alſo would make an application againſt his diſpenſing power, immediately proceeded to a prorogation: ſo imperious was his temper, ſo lofty the idea which he had entertained of his own authority, and ſo violent the meaſures ſuggeſted by his own bigotry and that of his prieſts [18]! By four more prorogations, he continued the parliament during a year and a half; but having in vain tried, by ſeparate applications, to break the firmneſs of the leading members, he at laſt diſſolved that aſſembly; and as it was evidently impoſſible for him to find among his Proteſtant ſubjects a ſet of men more devoted to royal authority, it was univerſally concluded, that he intended thenceforth to govern wholly without a parliament.

THE king's diſappointment in England did not divert him from purſuing the ſame deſign in Scotland: and the implicit ſubmiſſion exhibited by the Scottiſh parliament at its firſt meeting flattered him with the moſt pleaſing hopes of ſucceſs. But experience ſoon convinced him, that thoſe men who had reſigned their political freedom, with ſo much ſeeming indifference, were not to be perſuaded to endanger the Proteſtant faith. Though he demanded, in the moſt ſoothing expreſſions, ſome indulgence for the Roman Catholics, and ſupported this requeſt with propoſals of advantage to the Scottiſh nation, the parliament ſhewed no inclination to repeal any of the Penal Laws. It

18. Hume, vol. viii.

was

was therefore prorogued by the commiſſioner, and ſoon after diſſolved by the king 19. LETTER XVI. A. D. 1686.

RESOLUTE, however, in his purpoſe, this miſguided monarch, in contempt of the general voice of the legiſlative body of the two kingdoms, determined to ſupport his prerogative of diſpenſing with the penal ſtatutes againſt ſectaries, by the authority of Weſtminſter-hall. With that view, four judges were diſplaced, and men of more compliant tempers ſubſtituted in their room. A caſe in point was produced; and ſir Edward Herbert, lord chief juſtice of the King's Bench, upon the iſſue declared, That there was *nothing* whatever with which the *King*, as *ſupreme Lawgiver*, might not *diſpenſe*. This deciſion was confirmed by eleven out of the twelve judges. But the arguments of lawyers, founded upon ancient precedents, had no influence upon the ſentiments of the nation. Men in general could not diſtinguiſh between a diſpenſing and a repealing power in the crown; and they juſtly deemed it unreaſonable, that leſs authority ſhould be neceſſary to repeal than to enact any ſtatute. If one penal law was diſpenſed with, any other might undergo the ſame fate; and by what principle could even the laws that define property, be afterward ſecured from violation?—The Teſt Act had ever been conſidered as the great barrier of the national religion under a Popiſh ſucceſſor. As ſuch it had been inſiſted on by the parliament, as ſuch granted by the late king; and as ſuch, during the debates concerning the Excluſion Bill, it had been recommended by the lord-chancellor. By what magic then, it was aſked, by what chicane of law, is it now annihilated, and rendered of no validity 20?

19. Burnet. Woodrow. 20. Sir Robert Atkins. Burnet. Hume.

PART II. A. D. 1686.

FORTIFIED, however, with the opinion of the judges in favour of his diſpenſing power, James thought himſelf now authoriſed to countenance more openly his religious friends. The earl of Powis, with the lords Arundel, Bellaſis, and Dover, all zealous Catholics, and who had long managed in private the affairs of the nation, in conjunction with Sunderland, were publicly received at the council-board. Bellaſis, ſoon after, was placed at the head of the treaſury, and Arundel ſucceeded Hallifax in the office of privy-ſeal. The king's apoſtolical enthuſiaſm, in a word, which ſeemed to have diveſted him of common prudence, made him ſo deſirous of making proſelytes, that all men plainly ſaw the only way to acquire his favour and confidence was to embrace the Catholic faith. Sunderland affected ſuch a change; and, in Scotland, the earls of Murray, Perth, and Melford, were brought over to the religion of the court [21].

THESE were bold advances; but it was yet only in Ireland, where the majority of the people were already attached to the Romiſh communion, that the king thought himſelf at liberty wholly to pull off the maſk, and proceed to the full extent of his zeal and violence. Immediately after the acceſſion of James, the duke of Ormond had been recalled from the government of that kingdom; and, on the ſuppreſſion of Monmouth's rebellion, orders were ſent to the lords-juſtices, under colour of preventing a like inſurrection, to recal the arms of the Iriſh militia, who were all Proteſtants, and to depoſit them in different magazines. Nor did the vigilance of government ſtop here. Talbot, a violent papiſt, having been created earl of Tyrconnel, and appointed lieu-

21. Burnet, book iv. James II. 1686

tenant-general of the king's forces in Ireland, dif- LETTER XVI.
miſſed near three hundred Proteſtant officers, and a great number of private men, under pretence of new- A.D. 1686.
modelling the army. The earl of Clarendon went over as lord-lieutenant; but as he had refuſed to oblige the king, by changing his religion, he ſoon found that he poſſeſſed no credit or authority. He was even a kind of priſoner in the hands of the general; and as he gave all the oppoſition in his power to the violent meaſures of the Catholics, he was ſoon recalled, and Tyrconnel ſubſtituted in his place[22]. The unhappy Proteſtants now ſaw all the civil authority, as well as the military force, transferred into the hands of their inveterate enemies, and dreaded a renewal of the recent maſſacres. Great numbers, filled with ſuch apprehenſions, left their habitations, and came over to England; where the horror againſt popery was already roufed to the higheſt pitch, by the frightful tales of the French refugees, who, in conſequence of the revocation of the Edict of Nantz, had fled from the perſecutions of Lewis XIV.

ALL the more moderate Catholics were ſenſible that theſe extravagant meaſures would ruin the cauſe they were meant to ſerve. But the king was ſo entirely governed by the violent counſels of his queen, an Italian and popiſh princeſs, and by thoſe of father Petre his confeſſor, that the boldneſs of any meaſure ſeems to have been with him a ſufficient reaſon for adopting it. He now not only re-eſtabliſhed the Court of High-commiſſion, which had been aboliſhed, as we have ſeen, by act of parliament, in the reign of his father, Charles I. but iſſued a Declaration of general A.D. 1687.
Indulgence, or liberty of conſcience, "by his ſove-

22. Clarendon's *Letters*. Kennet vol. iii.

PART II. A.D. 1687.

"reign authority, and *abſolute* power," to his ſubjects of all religions [23]. Such an indulgence, though illegal, might have been conſidered as liberal, if the king's private purpoſe, the more ready introduction of popery, had not been generally known. Yet ſo great was the ſatisfaction ariſing from preſent eaſe, and ſo violent the animoſity of the Proteſtant ſectaries againſt the eſtabliſhed church, that they every where received the royal proclamation with expreſſions of joy and exultation [24].

If the diſſenters were ever deceived in regard to James's views, he took care ſoon to open their eyes, and to diſplay his bigotry and imprudence to all Europe. He publicly diſpatched the earl of Caſtelmain ambaſſador extraordinary to Rome, in order to expreſs his obeiſance to the pope, and to reconcile his kingdoms, in form, to the Holy See; and although Innocent XI. very juſtly concluded, that a ſcheme conducted with ſo much indiſcretion could not poſſibly be ſucceſsful, he ſent a nuncio to England, in return for the embaſſy. All communication with the pope had been made treaſon by act of parliament: but ſo little regard did James pay to the laws, that he gave the nuncio a public audience at Windſor; and the duke of Somerſet being then in waiting, as one of the lords of the bed-chamber, was deprived of all his employments, becauſe he refuſed to aſſiſt at the illegal ceremony [25]. The nuncio afterward reſided openly in London. Four Catholic biſhops were publicly conſecrated at the king's chapel, and ſent out under the title of *vicars apoſtolical* to exerciſe the epiſcopal function in their reſpective dioceſes. The Je-

23. Burnet, book iv. 24. Id. ibid. 25. Kennet. Ralph. Hume.

ſuits

ſuits were permitted to erect a chapel and form a college in the Savoy; the Recollects built a chapel in Lincoln's Inn Fields; the Carmelites formed a ſeminary in the city; fourteen monks were even ſettled at St. James's; in different parts of the country, places of public worſhip were erected by the papiſts; and the religious of the Romiſh communion appeared at court in the habits of their reſpective orders [26]. A. D. 1687.

NOTHING now remained for James, who had already transferred almoſt every great office, civil and military, in the three kingdoms, from the Proteſtants, to their ſpiritual enemies, but to throw open the doors of the church and univerſities to the Catholics: and this attempt was ſoon made. The king ſent a letter to the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, commanding the univerſity to admit one Francis, a monk of the order of St. Benedict, to the degree of maſter of arts, without exacting the uſual oaths. The univerſity refuſed; and the king, after ſuſpending the vice-chancellor, deſiſted from any farther attack upon that ſeminary [27]. But the compliant temper of the univerſity of Oxford, which had, in a formal decree, made profeſſion of *paſſive obedience*, gave James hopes of better ſucceſs there, though he carried ſtill higher his pretenſions.

THE preſidentſhip of Magdalen college, one of the richeſt foundations in Europe, having become vacant, a day was appointed for a new election; and one Farmer, a recent convert to popery, was recommended by a royal mandate, accompanied with a *diſpenſation* from the *uſual oaths*. The fellows of the college entreated the king to recall his mandate, or recommend ſome perſon of a leſs exceptionable character than

26. James II. 1686 and 1687. 27. Kennet. Ralph.

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Farmer; but the day of election arriving before they received any answer, they chose as their president Dr. Hough, a man of learning, virtue, and spirit, who braved the threatening danger.

A CITATION was issued for the members of the college to appear before the Court of High Commission, in order to answer for their disobedience. The matter came to a regular hearing; and such articles of folly and vice were proved against Farmer, as justified the fellows in rejecting him, without having recourse to the legal disqualifications under which he laboured. The commissioners, however, proceeded to the deprivation of Dr. Hough, and a new mandate was issued in favour of Parker, lately created bishop of Oxford; a man of dissolute morals, but who, like Farmer, had atoned for all his vices by his willingness to embrace the Romish religion. The college replied, that no new election could be made till the former should be *legally* annulled. A new ecclesiastical commission was issued for that purpose; and the commissioners, attended by three troops of horse, repaired to Oxford; expelled the refractory president and all the fellows, except two, who had uniformly adhered to the king's mandate, and installed Parker in the presidentship of Magdalen college[28].

OF all the acts of violence committed during the tyrannical reign of James II. this may perhaps be considered as the most illegal and arbitrary. It accordingly occasioned universal discontent, and gave a general alarm to the clergy. The church, the chief pillar of the throne, and which, during the two last reigns, had supported it with such unshaken firmness; the church, which had carried the prerogative so high,

28. Burnet, book iv. MS. Account by Dr. Smith, ap. Macpherson, *Hist. Pap.* vol. i. Hume, vol. viii.

and

and which, if protected in her rights, would have carried it ſtill higher; the church now ſeeing thoſe rights invaded, and her very fountains in danger of being poiſoned, took refuge in the generous principles of liberty, and reſolved to preſerve that conſtitution which her complacency had almoſt ruined. LETTER XVI. A. D. 1687.

THE king, however, was determined to adhere to his arbitrary meaſures; and as a balance to this reverend body, whoſe oppoſition he had wantonly rouſed, he endeavoured to gain the Proteſtant diſſenters, and to form an unnatural coalition between them and the Roman Catholics. With that view, he took occaſion frequently to extol the benefits of toleration, and to exclaim againſt the ſeverities of the church of England. He commanded an inquiry to be made into all the oppreſſive proſecutions which the diſſenters had ſuffered, as a prelude to yielding them ſecurity or redreſs; and by means of that aſcendency which the crown had acquired over the corporations, he every where thruſt them into the magiſtracy, under various pretences, in hopes of being able to procure a parliament that would give its ſanction to the repeal of the Teſt Act and the penal laws againſt nonconformity [29]. He affected to place them on the ſame footing with the Catholics; and, in order to widen the breach between them and the church, whoſe favour he deſpaired of recovering, but whoſe loyalty he never ſuſpected, he iſſued anew his Declaration of Indulgence, and ordered it to be read in the pulpit by all the eſtabliſhed clergy [30]. A. D. 1688.

THIS order was conſidered, by the whole eccleſiaſtical body, as an inſult on the hierarchy, and an

29. Burnet, book iv. Echard.

30. Id ibid. See alſo Kennet. Ralph.

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inſidious attempt to drag them to diſgrace; for as the penal laws againſt non-conformiſts had, in a great meaſure, been procured by the church, the clergy were ſenſible, that any countenance which they might give to the diſpenſing power would be regarded as a deſerting of their fundamental principles. They determined, therefore, almoſt univerſally, rather to hazard the vengeance of the crown, by diſobedience, than to fulfil a command they could not approve, and expoſe themſelves, at the ſame time, to the certain hatred and contempt of the people.

CONFORMABLE to this reſolution, and with a view to encourage every one to perſevere in it, ſix biſhops, namely, Lloyd of St. Aſaph, Ken of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chicheſter, White of Peterborough, and Trelawney of Briſtol, met privately with Sancroft, archbiſhop of Canterbury, in his palace at Lambeth, and concerted the form of a petition to the king; beſeeching him not to inſiſt upon their reading the declaration of indulgence, as being founded on a prerogative repeatedly declared illegal by parliament [31]. Enraged at this unexpected oppoſition to his favourite meaſure, James not only refuſed their requeſt, but ordered them to be committed to the Tower, on their refuſing to give bail for their appearance before the court of King's Bench, to anſwer for what was denominated an *high miſdemeanor*, and afterward proſecuted as a LIBEL.

JAMES was not inſenſible of the danger of purſuing this tyrannical proſecution, though his pride would not allow him to deſiſt. But the circumſtances

31. See the petition itſelf, ap. Hume, vol. viii, p. 266.

attending

attending the commitment of the biſhops ought ſtill farther to have opened his eyes, and made him perceive the dreadful precipice upon which he was ruſhing. Though they were carried by water to the Tower, multitudes of anxious ſpectators crowded the banks of the river, and at once implored the bleſſing of thoſe venerable prelates, and offered their petitions to Heaven for the ſafety of the perſecuted guardians of their religion. Even the ſoldiers, ſeized with the [illegible]ion of the ſame ſpirit, are ſaid to have flung themſelves on their knees, and craved the benediction of the holy priſoners, whom they were appointed to guard [32].

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A LIKE ſcene was exhibited, when the biſhops were conducted to trial. Perſons of all conditions were affected with the awful criſis to which affairs were reduced, and conſidered the deciſion of the cauſe depending as of the laſt importance to both king and people. Twenty-nine temporal peers attended the priſoners to Weſtminſter-hall; and ſuch crowds of gentry joined in the proceſſion, that little room was left for the populace to enter. The trial, which laſted near ten hours, was managed with ability by the counſel on both ſides, and liſtened to with the moſt eager attention. Though the judges held their ſeats only during pleaſure, two of them had the courage to declare againſt a diſpenſing power in the crown, as inconſiſtent with all law: and if the diſpenſing power was not legal, it followed of courſe, that the biſhops could not be criminal in refuſing obedience to an illegal command. The jury at length withdrew; and when they brought in their verdict, "Not Guilty!" the populace, who filled Weſtminſter-hall and all Pa-

32. Burnet. Ralph. Hume.

lace-

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lace-yard, ſhouted thrice with ſuch vehemence, that the ſound reached the city [33]. The loudeſt acclamations were immediately echoed from ſtreet to ſtreet, bonfires were lighted, and every other demonſtration given of public joy [34]. Nor were the rejoicings on account of this legal victory confined to the capital; they rapidly ſpread over the whole kingdom, and found their way even into the camp [35]; where the triumph of the church was announced to the king in the ſhouts of his mercenary army [36].

IF James had made uſe of that naturally ſound, though narrow underſtanding, with which he was endowed, he would now have perceived, that the time was come for him to retract, unleſs he meant ſeriouſly to ſacrifice his crown to his religious prejudices. But ſo blinded was he by bigotry, and ſo obſtinate in his arbitrary meaſures, that although he knew they were execrated by all orders of men in the ſtate, a handful of

33. Price to Beaufort, June 30, 1668, MS. ap. Macpherſon, *Hiſt. Brit.* vol. i. 34. Burnet, book iv. 35. Id. ibid.

36. In order to convince the people, that he was determined to ſupport his authority by force of arms, if neceſſary, and to over-awe them by a diſplay of his power, the king had, for two ſummers paſt, encamped his army, to the number of fifteen thouſand men, on Hounſlow-heath. He ſpent much of his time in training and diſciplining theſe troops; and a popiſh chapel was openly erected in the midſt of the camp, with a view of bringing over the ſoldiers to that communion. But the few converts that the prieſts made, were treated with ſuch contempt and ignominy by their companions, as deterred others from following the example. The king had reviewed his army on the ſame morning that the jury gave in their verdict in favour of the proſecuted prelates; and having afterward retired into the tent of lord Feverſham, the general, he was ſuddenly alarmed with a great uproar in the camp, attended with the moſt extravagant expreſſions of tumultuous joy. He anxiouſly enquired the cauſe, and was told by Feverſham, "it was nothing but the rejoicing of the "ſoldiers for the acquittal of the biſhops."—"And do you call that "nothing?" exclaimed James, ready to burſt with rage and indignation. Hume, vol. viii.

Roman

Roman Catholics excepted, yet was he, by a ſingular infatuation, incapable of ſo much as remitting his violence in the purſuit of them!—He immediately diſplaced the two judges, who had given their opinion in favour of the biſhops, and ſupplied their ſeats with men of more accommodating principles. He iſſued orders to the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners to proſecute all the clergy who had not read his Declaration of Indulgence; that is, the whole body of the church of England, unleſs about two hundred, and even theſe obeyed his command but imperfectly. He ſent a mandate to the new fellows, whom he had obtruded on Magdalen College, after expelling the former, to elect for preſident in the room of Parker, lately deceaſed, one Gifford, a doctor of the Sorbonne; and he is ſaid to have nominated the ſame perſon to the ſee of Oxford [37]!

Such violent and repeated infringements of the conſtitution could not fail to alarm the whole nation. The moſt moderate minded men could aſcribe the king's meaſures to nothing leſs than a ſettled ſyſtem to introduce his own religion and an unlimited power in the crown; and the only conſolation to all men was the advanced age of the king, and the proſpect of a proteſtant ſucceſſor, who would replace every thing on ancient foundations. This conſideration, together with the great naval and military force of James, kept the more ardent ſpirits from having immediate recourſe to arms; and the prince of Orange, who ſtill maintained a ſecret correſpondence with the Engliſh malcontents, and was ready on any emergency to obey the call of the nation, ſeemed to have laid aſide all thoughts of an open rupture, and to wait patiently

37, Burnet. Ral h. Hume.

for

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for an event that could not be very diſtant,—the death of the king.

But theſe hopes, both at home and abroad, were ſuddenly blaſted, by the unexpected birth of a prince of Wales. From a ſon, educated by ſuch a father, nothing could be expected but a continuance of the ſame unconſtitutional meaſures. People of all ranks took the alarm, as if a regular plan had been formed for entailing popery and arbitrary power on them and their deſcendants to the lateſt poſterity. Calumny went even ſo far, though the queen's delivery was as public as the laws of decency would permit, as to aſcribe to the king the deſign of impoſing upon the nation a ſuppoſititious child, who might ſupport, after the death of James, the catholic religion in his dominions. And the prince of Orange did not fail to propagate the improbable tale; which, in the preſent ſtate of men's minds, was greedily received by the populace both in England and Holland.

Under theſe apprehenſions, many of the Engliſh nobility and gentry, and ſome of the principal clergy, invited the prince to come over and aſſiſt them with his arms, in the recovery of their conſtitutional rights. In this invitation men of all parties, civil and eccleſiaſtical, concurred. The Whigs, conformable to thoſe patriotic principles which had led them to urge with ſo much violence the Excluſion Bill, were zealous to expel from the throne a prince, whoſe conduct had fully juſtified all that their fears had predicted of his ſucceſſion: the Tories, enraged at the preference ſhewn to the Catholics, and the church inflamed by recent injuries, reſolved to pull down the idol that their own hands had made, and

which they had blindly worſhipped. Their eyes being now opened, they ſaw the neceſſity of reſtoring and ſecuring the conſtitution. And the proteſtant nonconformiſts, whom the king had gained by his indulgence, judged it more prudent to look forward for a general toleration, to be eſtabliſhed by law, than to rely any longer on the inſidious careſſes of their theological adverſaries.—Thus, my dear Philip, by a wonderful coalition, was faction for a time ſilenced; all parties ſacrificing, on this occaſion, their former animoſities, to the apprehenſion of a common danger, or to the ſenſe of a common intereſt [38]. The Revolution, even in its beginning, was a national work; and patriotiſm, under the guidance of political wiſdom, ſuggeſted the glorious plan.

NOT ſatisfied with a formal invitation, ſeveral Engliſh noblemen and gentlemen went over to Holland, and in perſon encouraged the prince of Orange to attempt their deliverance from popery and arbitrary power. The requeſt was too flattering to be ſlighted. William, from the moment of his marriage with the lady Mary, had always kept his eye on the crown of England; though he had a complicated ſcheme of policy to conduct, and many interfering intereſts to reconcile on the continent. Happily all theſe intereſts conſpired to promote his propoſed enterprize. The league of Augſburg, formed to break the power of France, could not accompliſh its object without the acceſſion of England. The houſe of Auſtria, therefore, in both its branches, and even Innocent XI. who then filled the papal chair, preferring their political views to their zeal for the catholic faith, counte-

38; For a more full account of this coalition, ſee Bolingbroke's *Diſſertation on Parties*, Let. vii. and Hume, vol. viii.

nanced

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nanced the projected expulsion of James, who had refused to take part in the league, as the only means of humbling Lewis XIV. their common enemy. All the German princes were in the same interest; and the prince of Orange held conferences, not only with Castanaga, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, but with the electors of Brandenburgh and Saxony, with the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and with the whole house of Lunenburg. It was agreed that these princes should protect the United Provinces during the absence of William [39].

OTHER circumstances contributed to facilitate the designs of the prince of Orange. The elector of Cologne, who was also bishop of Liege and Munster, and whose territories almost surrounded the United Provinces, having died about this time, a violent contest arose for that rich succession. The candidates were prince Clement of Bavaria, supported by the house of Austria, and the cardinal de Furstemberg, a prelate dependent on France. The former at length prevailed, through the partiality of the pope; but as Lewis threatened to recover by force what he had lost by intrigue, the prince of Orange formed a camp, August. between Grave and Nimeguen, of twenty thousand men, under pretence of guarding against danger on that side. Under other pretences, he forwarded his preparations by sea; and had equipped for service twenty ships of the line, without having recourse to the States [40]. But the States, though not formally admitted into the secret counsels of William, could not be ignorant of his real views; and the body of the people, being highly irritated against France, exhi-

39. Burnet, book iv. D'Avaux, tom. iv. 40. Id. ibid.

bited

bited the utmoſt eagergeſs for every preparation for war. The commerce of the Dutch with that kingdom had lately been diminiſhed one fourth, by unuſual reſtrictions: their religious rage was kindled by the cruelties inflicted on the Proteſtants by Lewis, in conſequence of the revocation of the Edict of Nantz: the terrors raiſed by the bigotry of James in England had alſo ſpread to Holland; and the enthuſiaſtic zeal of theſe two potent monarchs for the catholic faith was repreſented, in both countries, as the certain ruin of the Proteſtant cauſe, unleſs reſtrained by the moſt vigorous exertions—by the united efforts of all the members of the reformed communion [41].

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WHILE one half of Europe thus combined againſt the king of England, while many of his own ſubjects were determined to oppoſe his power, and more to diveſt him of his authority, James, as if blinded by deſtiny, repoſed himſelf in the moſt ſupine ſecurity, and diſregarded the repeated accounts of the preparations conveyed to his ears. In vain did Lewis XIV. who had early received certain information of the deſigns of the prince of Orange, attempt to rouſe the infatuated monarch to a ſenſe of his danger: in vain did he offer his aid. Deceived by his ambaſſador in Holland, and betrayed by his miniſter, the earl of Sunderland, James had the weakneſs to believe, that the rumour of an invaſion was only raiſed by his enemies, in order to frighten him into a cloſer connexion with France, and to complete, by that means, the defection of his ſubjects [42]. Nor was this jealouſy, though carried to an imprudent height, utterly without foundation; for when Lewis took the liberty to remonſtrate with

41. Burnet, D'Avaux, ubi ſup. 42. D'Avaux, tom. iv. James II. 1688.

the

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the States, by his ambaſſador D'Avaux, againſt their preparations to invade England, not only the Dutch but the Engliſh took the alarm. Their apprehenſions of a league between the two monarchs, for the deſtruction of the proteſtant religion, ſeemed now to be confirmed, and the wildeſt ſtories were propagated to that purpoſe [43].

HAD the defection occaſioned by theſe fears been confined to the Engliſh populace, or merely to men in a civil capacity, James might ſtill have bid defiance to the deſigns of his ſon-in-law. But, unhappily for that miſguided monarch, both the fleet and army were infected with the ſame ſpirit of diſloyalty. Of this he had received ſome mortifying proofs, when certain advice was brought him, from his miniſter in Holland, that he muſt ſoon expect a formidable invaſion, as the States had at laſt acknowledged, that the purpoſe of all their naval preparations was to tranſport forces into England.

Sept. 23.

THOUGH James could reaſonably expect no other intelligence, he was much affected with the news: he grew pale, and the letter dropt from his hand [44]. His delirium of power vaniſhed; and he found himſelf on the brink of a frightful precipice, which had hitherto been concealed from his view by the illuſions of ſuperſtition. He now ſaw the neceſſity of providing for his ſafety, as well as of endeavouring to conciliate the affections of his people. He immediately ordered his fleet to be aſſembled, and his army to be recruited with new levies. He ſent for troops from Scotland and Ireland; and to his no ſmall ſatis-

43. Id. ibid. See alſo Hume, vol. viii. 44. Hume, vol. viii.

faction,

faction, found his land forces amount to forty thouſand men [45].

NOR was the king leſs liberal of his civil conceſſions than vigorous in his military preparations. He had already iſſued writs for the meeting of parliament on the 27th of the enſuing November. He followed theſe with a declaration, That it was his fixed purpoſe to endeavour to eſtabliſh a LEGAL ſettlement of an univerſal liberty of conſcience for all his ſubjects; that he had reſolved to preſerve inviolate the church of England: and he proteſted, that it was his intention Roman catholics ſhould remain incapable of ſitting in the houſe of commons. He gave orders to the lord-chancellor, and the lord-lieutenants of the ſeveral counties, to replace all the deputy-lieutenants and juſtices, who had been deprived of their commiſſions for their adherence to the Teſt and the penal laws againſt non-conformiſts: he reſtored the charter of London, and the charters of all the corporations in the kingdom: he annulled the court of eccleſiaſtical commiſſion: he reinſtated the expelled preſident and fellows of Magdalen college; and he invited again to his councils all the biſhops whom he had ſo lately perſecuted and inſulted, aſſuring them, that he was ready to do whatever they ſhould think neceſſary for the ſecurity of the proteſtant religion and the civil rights of his ſubjects [46].

BUT theſe conceſſions, though important in themſelves, were made too late to be allowed much merit; and being generally ſuppoſed to be extorted by fear, they were coldly received by the nation. Nor was the conduct of the king, in other reſpects, anſwerable

45. James II. 1688.
46. *Gazettes*, paſſim.

PART II. A. D. 1688. to ſuch conciliating meaſures. He recalled the writs for the meeting of parliament, without iſſuing any new ones; a ſtep which created univerſal ſuſpicion of his ſincerity, and begot a belief that all his conceſſions were no more than temporary expedients. He ſhewed, however, a laudable zeal for his own honour, in obtaining a legal proof of the birth of the prince of Wales; but by an imprudence approaching to infanity, the heir of the crown was baptized in the Romiſh communion, and the pope, repreſented by his nuncio, ſtood godfather to the boy [47].

Oct. 15.

MEANWHILE the prince of Orange continued his preparations. A powerful fleet was ready to put to ſea: the troops fell down the Maeſe from Nimeguen: the tranſports, which had been hired at different ports, were ſpeedily aſſembled: the artillery, arms, ammunition, proviſions, horſes, and men were embarked; and William, after taking formal leave of the States, and calling God to witneſs, that he had not the leaſt intention to invade, ſubdue, or make himſelf maſter of the kingdom of England! went himſelf on board [48]. His whole armament, which ſailed from the Brille and Helvoetſluys on the 19th of October, conſiſted of fifty ſtout ſhips of war, twenty-five frigates, and an equal number of fire-ſhips; with five hundred tranſports, carrying about fifteen thouſand land forces, including five hundred and fifty-ſix officers. Admiral Herbert, who had left the ſervice of James, led the van; the Zealand ſquadron, under vice-admiral Evertzen, brought up the rear; and the prince of Orange, in perſon, commanded in the centre, carrying a flag with Engliſh colours, and his own arms ſurrounded with theſe popular words:—"The PROTESTANT RELI-

47. Burnet, book iv. James II. 1688. 48. Neuville, tom. i.

"GION and the LIBERTIES of ENGLAND." Under this inſcription was placed the oppoſite motto of the houſe of Naſſau:—*Je maintiendrai*; "I will maintain[49]!" LETTER XVI. A. D. 1688.

THIS great embarkation, the moſt important which had, for ſome ages, been undertaken in Europe, was ſcarce completed, when a dreadful tempeſt aroſe at ſouth-weſt, and drove the Dutch fleet to the northward. The ſtorm raged for twelve hours, and the prince was obliged to return to Helvoetſluys. But he ſoon repaired his damages, and again put to ſea. An eaſt wind carried him down the Channel; where he was ſeen from both ſhores, between Dover and Calais, by vaſt multitudes of anxious ſpectators, who felt alternately the extremes of hope and fear, mingled with admiration, at ſuch a magnificent ſpectacle. After a proſperous voyage, he landed his army in Torbay, without the ſmalleſt oppoſition either by ſea or land[50]. Nov. 3.

THE ſame wind, which favoured the enterprize of the prince of Orange, confined the Engliſh fleet to its own coaſt. Lord Dartmouth, who was inviolably attached to James, lay near Harwich with thirty-eight ſhips of the line, and twenty-three frigates; a force ſufficient to have diſconcerted the deſigns of William, if it could poſſibly have put to ſea: ſo that the ſucceſs of the glorious Revolution may be ſaid to have depended upon the winds! The deſtruction of the Dutch fleet, even after the landing of the prince, would have diſcouraged his adherents, and proved fatal to his undertaking. Senſible of this, Dartmouth came before Torbay, with a fixed reſolution to attack the Hollanders, as they lay at anchor. But his fleet was diſperſed by a violent ſtorm, and forced to return to Spithead, in ſuch a ſhattered condition as to be no more fit for ſervice that ſeaſon[51]. Little wonder, if after

49. Burnet, book iv. D'Avaux, tom. iv. Rapin, vol. ii. fol. edit.
50. Id. ibid. 51. Burnet, book iv. Torrington's *Mem.*

PART II. A. D. 1688. such singularly fortunate circumstances, William's followers began to consider him and themselves as the peculiar favourites of Heaven; and that even the learned Dr. Burnet could not help exclaiming, in the words of Claudian,

O nimium dilecte Deo! cui militat æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti.

"Heaven's darling Charge! to aid whose great design,
"The fighting skies and friendly winds combine."

THE prince of Orange, immediately on his landing, dispersed a printed Declaration, which had been already published in Holland, and contributed not a little to his future success. In that elaborate performance, written originally in French by the pensionary Fagel, and translated into English by Dr. Burnet, the principal grievances of the three British kingdoms were enumerated; namely, The exercise of a dispensing and suspending power; the revival of the court of ecclesiastical commission; the filling of all offices with catholics; the open encouragement given to popery, by building every where places of worship, colleges, and seminaries for that sect; the displacing of judges, if they gave sentence contrary to the orders or the inclinations of the court; the annulling the charters of all the corporations, and thereby subjecting elections to arbitrary will and pleasure; the treating of petitions to the throne, even the most modest, and from persons of the highest rank, as criminal and seditious; the committing of the whole authority in Ireland, civil and military, into the hands of papists; the assuming of an absolute power over the religion and laws of Scotland, and openly exacting in that kingdom an obedience without reserve. He concluded with protesting, that the sole object of his expedition

was

was to procure a redreſs of theſe grievances; to get a legal and free parliament ſummoned, that might provide for the liberty and ſecurity of the nation, and examine the proofs of the legitimacy of the prince of Wales, in regard to which he expreſſed the moſt violent ſuſpicions [52].

THOUGH this declaration was received with ardour by the nation, the prince, for ſome time after his landing, could not boaſt of his good fortune. A great deal of rain having fallen, the roads were rendered almoſt impaſſable; and he poſſeſſed neither cattle nor carriages ſufficient to convey the baggage of his army. He directed, however, his encumbered march to Exeter; but without being joined by any perſon of eminence,

52. The proofs produced by James, in ſupport of the birth of his ſon, before an extraordinary council, to which the lords both ſpiritual and temporal were ſummoned, and at which the lord mayor and aldermen of London, and all the judges were preſent, were as ſtrong as any that can perhaps be produced to eſtabliſh ſuch a fact. But if any doubts in regard to this matter could ſtill remain in the moſt prejudiced mind, the declaration of the duke of Berwick, the king's natural ſon, and a man of unimpeached veracity, would be ſufficient to remove them. "I could ſpeak "knowingly on the ſubject," ſays he, "for I was preſent; and, notwithſtanding my reſpect and attachment to the king, I could never "have conſented to ſo deteſtable an action, as that of introducing a ſuppoſititious child, in order to deprive the true heirs of the crown. "Much leſs ſhould I have continued, after the king's death, to ſupport "the pretenſions of an impoſtor: honour and conſcience would have "reſtrained me." (*Mem. of the Duke of Berwick*, written by himſelf, vol. i. p. 40.) The anſwer of Anne princeſs of Denmark (July 4, 1688), to the queſtions of her ſiſter Mary princeſs of Orange, relative to the birth of the prince of Wales, is ſtill more ſatisfactory. Though ſeemingly diſpoſed to favour the idea of an impoſture, ſhe enumerates ſo particularly, even to *indelicacy*, the *circumſtances* attending the queen's *delivery*, and the perſons of both ſexes preſent at it (who were many, and of high rank), that it is truly aſtoniſhing William ſhould afterward have aſſigned the illegitimacy of the prince of Wales as one of his reaſons for landing in England. (Dalrymp. *Append.* part ii.) See farther on this much conteſted ſubject, a *Letter from Dr. Hugh Chamberlayne to the princeſs Sophia*, ubi ſup.

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either on his way, or for eight days after his arrival at that place. His troops were diſcouraged: he himſelf began to think of abandoning his enterprize; and actually held a council of his principal officers, to deliberate whether he ſhould not reimbark [53]. Impatient of diſappointment, he is ſaid even to have publicly declared his reſolution to permit the Engliſh nation to ſettle their own differences with their king; and to direct his father-in-law where to puniſh, by tranſmitting to him the ſecret correſpondence of his ſubjects [54].

THE friends of the court exulted mightily at the coldneſs of William's reception; but their joy was of ſhort duration. One Burrington having ſhewn the example, the prince was ſpeedily joined by the gentry of the counties of Devon and Somerſet, and an aſſociation was ſigned for his ſupport. The earl of Abington, Mr. Ruſſell, ſon of the earl of Bedford, lord Wharton, Mr. Godfrey, Mr. Howe, and a number of other perſons of diſtinction, repaired to Exeter. All England was ſoon in commotion. Lord Delamere took arms in Cheſhire; the city of York was ſeized by the earl of Danby; the earl of Bath, governor of Plymouth, declared for the prince; and the earl of Devonſhire made a like declaration in Derby. Every day diſcovered ſome new inſtance of that general confederacy into which the nation had entered againſt the meaſures of the king. But the moſt dangerous ſymptom, and that which rendered his affairs deſperate, was the defection of the army. Many of the principal officers were inſpired with the prevailing ſpirit of the nation, and diſpoſed to prefer the intereſts of their country to their duty to their ſovereign.

53. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i. 34. *Dalrymple's Append.*

Though

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Though they might love James, and have a due ſenſe of the favours he had conferred upon them, they were ſtartled at the thought of rendering him abſolute maſter not only of the liberties, but even of the lives and properties of his ſubjects; and yet this, they ſaw, muſt be the conſequence of ſuppreſſing the numerous inſurrections, and obliging the prince of Orange to quit the kingdom. They therefore determined rather to bear the reproach of infidelity than to run the hazard or becoming the inſtruments of deſpotiſm.

THE example of deſertion among the officers was ſet by lord Colcheſter, ſon of the earl of Rivers, and by lord Cornbery, ſon of the earl of Clarendon. The king had arrived at Saliſbury, the head-quarters of his army, when he received this alarming intelligence; but as the ſoldiers in general ſeemed firm in their allegiance, and the officers, in a body, expreſſed their abhorrence of ſuch treachery, he reſolved to advance upon the invaders. Unfortunately, however, for his affairs, the Dutch had already taken poſſeſſion of Axminſter. A ſudden bleeding at the noſe, with which he was ſeized, occaſioned a delay of ſome days; and farther ſymptoms of defection appearing among the officers, he judged it prudent to retire toward London. Lord Churchill, afterward the great duke of Marlborough, and the duke of Grafton, natural ſon of Charles II. who had given their opinion for remaining at Saliſbury, fled under cover of the night to the prince of Orange. Succeſſive misfortunes poured in on the unfortunate monarch. Trelawney, who occupied an advanced poſt at Warminſter, deſerted with all his captains, except one. Prince George of Denmark, the king's ſon-in-law, and the young duke of Ormond, left him at Andover. Every day diminiſhed

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niſhed the number of his officers; and to increaſe his accumulated misfortunes, he found, at his arrival in London, that his favourite daughter, Anne princeſs of Denmark, had ſecretly withdrawn herſelf the night before, in company with lady Churchill [55]. All his firmneſs of mind left him: tears ſtarted from his eyes; and he broke out into ſorrowful exclamations, expreſſive of his deep ſenſe of his now loſt condition. "God help me," cried he, in the agony of his heart, "my own children have forſaken me!"

HENCEFORTH, the conduct of the infatuated James is ſo much marked with folly and puſillanimity, as to diveſt his character of all reſpect, and almoſt his ſufferings of compaſſion. Having aſſembled, as a laſt reſource, a council of the peers then in London, he iſſued by their advice, writs for a new parliament, and appointed the marquis of Halifax, the earl of Nottingham, and lord Godolphin, his commiſſioners to treat with the prince of Orange. Thinking the ſeaſon for negociation paſt, William continued to advance with his army, at the ſame time that he amuſed the commiſſioners. Though he knew they were all devoted to his cauſe, he long denied them an audience. Meanwhile James, diſtracted by his own fears, and alarmed by the real or pretended apprehenſions of others, ſent the queen and the prince of Wales privately into France, and embraced the extraordinary reſolution of following them in perſon. He accordingly left his palace at midnight, attended only by Sir Edward Hales; and, in order to complete his imprudence and deſpair, he commanded the earl of Feverſham to diſband the army, recalled the writs for the meeting

Dec. 10.

55. Burnet, book iv. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i. James II. 1688.

of

of the parliament, and threw the great-ſeal into the Thames [56]! LETTER XVI.

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If James had deliberately reſolved to place the prince of Orange on the throne of England, he could not have purſued a line of conduct more effectual for that purpoſe. Beſide the odious circumſtances of ſeeking refuge with the heir of the crown in a country diſtinguiſhed for popery and arbitrary power, and recalling the writs for a free parliament, the anarchy and diſorder which enſued, on the ſudden diſſolution of government, made all men look up to William as the Saviour of the nation. The populace roſe in London, and not only deſtroyed all the popiſh chapels, but even rifled the houſes of the ambaſſadors of catholic princes and ſtates, where many of the papiſts had lodged their moſt valuable effects. Riot and devaſtation every where prevailed. The whole body of the people, releaſed from the reſtraints of law, felt one general movement; and new violences were apprehended from the licentious ſoldiers, whom Feverſham had diſbanded, withour either diſarming or paying them [57].

In order to remedy theſe evils, and reſtore public tranquillity, an office which ſeemed now beyond the power of the civil magiſtrate, ſuch of the biſhops and peers as were in London aſſembled in Guildhall; and erecting themſelves into a ſupreme council, executed all the functions of royalty. They gave directions to the mayor and aldermen for keeping the peace of the city: they iſſued their commands, which were readily obeyed, to the fleet, to the neglected

56 Id. Ibid. 57. Ralph. Hume.

army

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WILLIAM was not backward in aſſuming that authority, which the imprudence of James had devolved upon him. He exerciſed, in his perſon, many acts of ſovereignty; and, in order to make his preſence more welcome in London, he is ſaid to have propagated a report, that the diſbanded Iriſh had taken arms, and begun a general maſſacre of the proteſtants. Such a rumour at leaſt was ſpread all over the kingdom, and begot univerſal conſternation. The alarm bells were rung, the beacons fired; and men fancied they ſaw at a diſtance the ſmoke of the burning cities, and heard the dying groans of thoſe who were ſlaughtered by the enemies of their religion [59]. Nothing leſs than the approach of the prince of Orange and his proteſtant army, it was thought, could ſave the capital from ruin.

WILLIAM had advanced to Windſor, when he received the unwelcome news, that the king had been ſeized in diſguiſe, by ſome fiſhermen, near Feverſham in Kent, on ſuppoſition that he was ſome popiſh prieſt, or other delinquent, who wanted to make his eſcape. This intelligence threw all parties into confuſion. The prince of Orange ſent orders to James, not to approach nearer to London than Rocheſter. But the meſſenger miſſed him on the way, and he once more

59. Hiſt. Deſert. p. 91. Rapin, vol. ii. fol. edit.

entered

entered his capital amid the loudeſt acclamations of joy. The people forgot his miſconduct in his misfortunes, and all orders of men ſeemed to welcome his return[60]. LETTER XVI. A. D. 1688.

THIS, however, was only a tranſient gleam before a new ſtorm. Scarce had the king retired to his bedchamber, when he received a meſſage from the prince, deſiring him to remove to Ham, a houſe belonging to the ducheſs of Lauderdale; and the following night, as he was going to reſt, the Dutch guards, without farther notice, took poſſeſſion of his palace, and diſplaced the Engliſh, to the great diſguſt of the army, and no inconſiderable part of the nation. James ſet out next morning, by permiſſion, for Rocheſter, in preference to Ham, under a Dutch guard; and although convinced, that he could not do a more acceptable ſervice to his rival, and that he had underrated the loyalty of his ſubjects, he ſtill reſolved to make his eſcape to France.

THE earls of Arran, Dumbarton, Aileſbury, Litchfield, and Middleton, the gallant lord Dundee, and other officers of diſtinction, who had aſſembled at Rocheſter, argued ſtrenuouſly againſt this reſolution. They repreſented to the king, that the opinion of mankind began already to change, and that events would daily riſe in favour of his authority. "The "queſtion, Sir," urged Dundee, with all his generous ardour, "is whether you will ſtay in England or fly "to France? Whether you ſhall truſt the returning "zeal of your native ſubjects, or rely on a foreign "power?—Here you ought to ſtand. Keep poſſeſ-

60 Burnet, book iv.

"ſion

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"ſion of a part, and the whole will ſubmit by de-
"grees. Reſume the ſpirit of a king; ſummon your
"ſubjects to their allegiance: your army, though
"diſbanded, is not annihilated. Give me your com-
"miſſion, and I will collect ten thouſand of your
"troops: I will carry your ſtandard at their head
"through England, and drive before you the Dutch
"and their prince." James replied, that he believed it might be done, but that it would occaſion a civil war; and he would not do ſo much miſchief to a people who would ſoon return to their ſenſes. Middleton, who ſaw the fallacy of this opinion, preſſed him to ſtay, though in the remoteſt part of his kingdom. "Your majeſty," ſaid he, "may throw things into
"confuſion by your departure, but it will be only the
"anarchy of a month: a new government will ſoon
"be ſettled; and then you and your family are
"ruined for ever[61]."

But theſe animated remonſtrances could not inſpire with new firmneſs a mind broken by apprehenſion and terror. Afraid of being taken off either by poiſon or aſſaſſination[62], and mortified at his preſent abject condition, James continued to meditate his eſcape; and as the back-door of the houſe in which he lodged was intentionally left without any guard, he found no difficulty in accompliſhing his deſign. He
Dec. 23. privately withdrew at midnight, accompanied by his natural ſon, the duke of Berwick, and went on board a large ſloop, which waited for him in the river Medway. After ſome obſtructions, he ſafely arrived at Ambleteuſe, in Picardy; whence he haſtened to St.

61. Macpherſon's *Original Papers*, 1688.

62. James II. 1688.

Germains, where the queen and the prince of Wales had arrived the day before[63].

THUS, my dear Philip, ended the reign of James II. a prince not deſtitute of virtue or abilities, but who, as you have ſeen, was ſo enſlaved by the Romiſh ſuperſtition, and blinded with the love of arbitrary power, that he obſtinately violated the civil and religious conſtitution of his country; and was, therefore, juſtly deprived of the throne. Who had a right to fill that throne? is a queſtion which we ſhall afterward have occaſion to diſcuſs. In the mean time, I muſt carry forward the progreſs of the prince of Orange; obſerving, by the way, that whatever reſtraints might have been impoſed on the regal authority, which had been abuſed, the king's deſertion of his people, though in ſome meaſure deſerted by them, only could have occaſioned the utter loſs of his crown, or have changed the line of ſucceſſion.

THE ſame day that James left Whitehall, William arrived at St. James's. It happened to rain very heavily, and yet great numbers came to ſee him. But, after they had ſtayed long in the wet, he diſappointed them. Being an enemy to ſhew and parade, perhaps from a conſciouſneſs of his ungraceful figure, and dead to the voice of popular joy, he went through the park to the palace[64]. Even this trifling incident helped to alter the ſentiments of the people; and being now cool, they judged more impartially. They conſidered it as an unnatural thing for the prince of Orange to waken his father-in-law out of his ſleep, and force him from his own palace, when he was ready

63. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i. James II. 1688.
64. Burnet, book iv.

to

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to ſubmit to every thing: they began even to ſuſpect, that this *ſpecious undertaking* would prove to be only a *diſguiſed* and *deſigned uſurpation*[65]. The public bodies, however, waited upon the prince, and expreſſed their zeal for his cauſe: and, among others, the gentlemen of the law, with old ſerjeant Maynard at their head; who, when William took notice of his great age, and ſaid he muſt have outlived all the lawyers of his time, wittily replied, "I ſhould have outlived the law it-"ſelf, if your highneſs had not come over[66]!"

THE only thing that now remained for all parties was the ſettlement of the kingdom. With this view, the peers met in their own houſe; and the prince laid before them his Declaration, as the foundation of their deliberations. In the courſe of debate it was urged, That the king, by withdrawing, had diveſted himſelf of his authority, and that government itſelf had ſuffered a demiſe in law[67]. A free parliament was, therefore, declared to be the only means of obtaining a legal ſettlement; and the reſult of the whole was, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to the prince of Orange, deſiring him to aſſume the adminiſtration of government, and to ſummon a convention. The offer was too alluring to be rejected; but William, cautious in all his proceedings, judged it ſtill neceſſary to ſtrengthen the reſolution of the lords with the authority of the commons. For that purpoſe, a judicious expedient was fallen upon. All the members of the three laſt parliaments, who were in London, were invited to meet, together with the lord mayor, the court of aldermen, and fifty members of the common-council. This mixed aſſembly, which was regarded as the moſt

65. Id. Ibid. 66. Burnet, book iv.
67. Clarendon's *Diary*, Dec. 26, 1688.

equal

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equal repreſentation of the people that could be obtained in the preſent emergency, unanimouſly voted an addreſs, the ſame in ſubſtance with that of the lords; and the Prince, ſupported by ſo great a part of the nation, diſpatched his circular letters to the various boroughs, counties, and corporations in England, for a general election of repreſentatives[68]. A. D. 1688.

WHILE the Revolution thus approached to maturity in England, the people of Scotland were not idle ſpectators. The Preſbyterians in that kingdom, who had long been perſecuted and oppreſſed, compoſed the bulk of the nation; and as the prince of Orange was of their perſuaſion, the moſt fervent prayers were offered for his ſucceſs, as ſoon as his deſigns were known. He had undertaken to deliver Scotland as well as England; and, in order to facilitate his views, the popular party, on receiving his Declaration, diſſolved the few regular troops that remained in the kingdom, and aſſumed the reins of government. Thirty noblemen, and about eighty gentlemen, repaired to London; and, forming themſelves into a kind of convention, requeſted the Prince to take into his hands the adminiſtration of Scotland. He thanked them for the truſt they had repoſed in him, and ſummoned a general convention to meet at Edinburgh. This aſſembly being regarded as illegal by the more zealous Royaliſts, they took little ſhare in the elections; ſo that the popular party, or the Whigs, were returned for moſt places. The proceedings of the members of the Scottiſh convention were accordingly bold and deciſive. They ordered, by proclamation, all perſons between the age of ſix- A. D. 1689. Jan. 7.

68. Burnet, ubi ſup. Echard, vol. iii.

teen

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teen and ſixty to be ready to take arms: they gave the command of the militia to Sir Patrick Hume, one of their moſt active leaders: they raiſed eight hundred men for a guard, under the earl of Leven: they impowered the duke of Hamilton, their preſident, to ſecure all diſaffected and ſuſpected perſons; and, without amuſing themſelves with nice diſtinctions, and the latent meaning of words, they reſolved, "That king James, by mal-adminiſtration, and by "his abuſe of power, had *forfeited* his *right* of the "crown." They therefore declared the throne *vacant*, and invited the Prince and Princeſs of Orange to take poſſeſſion of it, though not without due attention to their civil and religious rights [69].

In the mean time, the Engliſh convention had met; and after a long debate, the commons came to the following memorable reſolution:—"That king "James II. having endeavoured to ſubvert the con-"ſtitution, by breaking the *Original Contract*, between "*King* and *People*; and having violated the funda-"mental laws, and withdrawn himſelf from the "kingdom, has *abdicated* the government; and that "the throne is thereby become *vacant* [70]." This reſolution was carried up to the houſe of peers, where it met with much oppoſition, and many warm debates enſued. The moſt curious of theſe was, "Whether "any original contract ſubſiſted between the king "and the people?"—a queſtion more fit for the ſchools than a national aſſembly, but which the vote of the commons had rendered neceſſary. Arguments may ſurely be produced from reaſon, to prove a

69. Balcarras's *Minutes of the Convention.* Burnet, book iv. v.

70. *Journals*, Jan. 28, 1689.

kind

kind of tacit compact between the ſovereign and the ſubject; but ſuch a compact has ſeldom had any actual exiſtence. The Engliſh national charters, however, ſeemed to realize ſuch a compact: and theſe charters had all been recogniſed and confirmed by the Bill of Rights; a ſolemn and recent tranſaction between the king, the nobles, and the repreſentatives of the people. The majority of the lords, therefore, declared for an Original Contract; and the houſe almoſt inſtantly reſolved, That James had *broken* that *Contract*[71].

THE oppoſition, however, did not end here. The lords proceeded to take into conſideration the word *abdicated*, contained in the vote of the commons; and, after ſome debate, agreed that *deſerted* was more proper. The next and concluding queſtion was, "Whether king James, having *broken* the *original contract*, "and *deſerted* the *government*, the *throne* is thereby "*vacant*?" This queſtion was debated with more warmth than any of the former; and, on a diviſion, it was carried by eleven voices againſt a *vacancy*. The vote of the commons was ſent back with theſe amendments; and as they continued obſtinate, a free conference was appointed between the two houſes, in order to ſettle the controverſy.

NEVER perhaps was there a national debate of more importance, or managed by more able ſpeakers. The leaders of the commons contended, that although the word *deſerted* might be more ſignificant and intelligible, as applied to the king's withdrawing himſelf, it could not, with any propriety, be extended to his violation of the fundamental laws. The managers

71. *Journals of the Lords*, Jan. 30.

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for the lords, changing their ground, inſiſted, That admitting the king's abuſe of power to be equivalent to an abdication, it could operate no otherwiſe than his voluntary reſignation, or natural death, and could only make way for the next heir; who, though they did not name him, they inſinuated, being yet an infant in the cradle, could have committed no crime: and no juſt reaſon, they thought, could be aſſigned, why, without any default of his own, he ſhould loſe a crown to which he was entitled by his birth. The leaders of the commons replied, That the oath of allegiance, which binds the ſubject to the heirs of the king as well as to himſelf regarded only a natural demiſe, and that there was no proviſion in law for a civil demiſe, which ſeemed equivalent to an attainder; that although upon the death of a king, whoſe adminiſtration had been agreeable to the laws, many and great inconveniencies would be endured, rather than exclude the lineal ſucceſſor; yet when, as in the preſent caſe, the people, on the principle of ſelf-preſervation, had been obliged to have recourſe to arms, in order to dethrone a prince who had violated the conſtitution, that the government reverted, in ſome meaſure, to its firſt principles, and the community acquired a right of providing for the public welfare by the moſt rational expedients.

THE members of the convention might ſurely eſtabliſh a new precedent, as well as their anceſtors. Never could a more fair repreſentation of the people be obtained; and the people, it muſt be allowed, though they cannot deliberate in a body, have a right, on every revolution, and whenever their conſtitutional liberties are invaded, to chuſe their own governors, as well as the form of government under

which they desire to live, unless the monstrous doctrine of MANY made for ONE should be revived. The two houses, however, parted without coming to any conclusion; but as it was impossible for the nation to remain long in its present state, the majority of the lords, in consequence of the desertion of some Tories to the Whig party, at last agreed to pass the vote of the commons, without any alteration or amendment [72].

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THIS grand controversy being got over, the next question was, "Who should fill the vacant throne [73]? The marquis of Halifax, in order to recommend himself to the future sovereign, moved that the crown should be immediately conferred upon the Prince of Orange. The earl of Danby, his political rival, proposed to confer it solely on the Princess; and others contended for a regency. William, who had hitherto behaved with great moderation and magnanimity, avoiding to interfere in the debates of either house, and disdaining even to bestow caresses on those members whose influence might be useful to him, now perceiving that he was likely to lose the great object of his ambition, broke through that mysterious reserve, and seeming apathy, in which he had been so long wrapt. He called together Halifax, Shrewsbury,

72. *Journals of the Lords*, Feb. 6.

73. During all these debates, it seems somewhat extraordinary, that no enquiry was made concerning the birth of the prince of Wales; more especially as such an inquiry had been expressly mentioned by the prince of Orange in his Declaration. The reasons assigned by Burnet for this neglect, though plausible, are by no means conclusive. (*Hist. Own Times*, book iv.) The only substantial reason for such omission seems to be, That the Whigs finding it impracticable to prove an imposture, even by presumptive evidence, judged it prudent to let the matter rest in obscurity.

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Danby, and ſome other leading men, and told them, that he had heard ſome were for placing the government in the hands of a regent. He would not, he ſaid, oppoſe the meaſure; but he thought it neceſſary to inform them, that he would not be THAT regent. Others, he added, ſeemed diſpoſed to place the Princeſs ſingly on the throne, and that he ſhould reign by her courteſy. This he alſo declined; declaring, that he could not accept of an authority, which ſhould depend on the will or the life of another; that no man could eſteem a woman more than he did the Princeſs Mary, but he could not "think of holding any thing by apron-ſtrings!" and therefore, if they did not think fit to make a different ſettlement, that he would return to Holland, and concern himſelf no more in their affairs [74].

THIS threat, though not deemed to be altogether ſincere, had its weight. Both houſes voted, "That "the Prince and Princeſs of Orange ſhould be de-"clared King and Queen of England;" and a bill was brought in for that purpoſe. In this bill, or Inſtrument of Settlement, it was provided, That the Prince and Princeſs ſhould enjoy the crown of England during their natural lives and the life of the ſurvivor, the ſole adminiſtration to be in the prince; that, after the death of both, the throne ſhould be filled by the heirs of the body of the princeſs; and that in default of ſuch iſſue, Anne, princeſs of Denmark, and the heirs of her body, ſhould ſucceed, before thoſe of the prince of Orange, by any other wife

74. Burnet, book iv.

but

but the princeſs Mary [75]. The Inſtrument of Settlement, beſides regulating the line of ſucceſſion, alſo provided againſt the return of thoſe grievances, which had driven the nation to the preſent extremity; and, although it ought to have been more full on this head, it declared, and effectually ſecured from the future encroachments of the ſovereign, the moſt eſſential rights of the ſubject. LETTER XVI. A. D. 1689.

THUS, my dear Philip, was happily terminated the great ſtruggle between Privilege and Prerogative, between the crown and the people; which commenced, as you have ſeen, with the acceſſion of the family of Stuart to the throne of England, and continued till their excluſion, when almoſt a century had elapſed. The Revolution forms a grand æra in the Engliſh conſtitution. By bringing on the deciſion of many important queſtions in favour of liberty, and yet more by the memorable precedent of depoſing one king and eſtabliſhing another, with a new line of ſucceſſion, it gave ſuch an aſcendant to popular principles as has put the nature of our government beyond all controverſy. A king of England, or of Britain, to uſe the words of my lord Bolingbroke, is now ſtrictly and properly what a king ſhould be; a member, but the ſupreme member or head of a political body; diſtinct from it, or independent of it, in none. He can no longer move in a different orbit from his people; and, like ſome ſuperior planet, attract, repel, and direct their motions by his own. He and they are parts of the ſame ſyſtem, intimately joined, and co-operating

75. *Journals of the Lords*, Feb. 7, 1689. See alſo the Inſtrument, or act itſelf. In this act was inſerted a clauſe, diſabling all papiſts, or ſuch as ſhould marry papiſts, from ſucceeding to the crown; and another abſolving the ſubjects, in that caſe, from their allegiance.

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together; acting and acted upon, limiting and limited, controuling and controuled, by one another: and when he ceaſes to ſtand in this relation to them, he ceaſes to ſtand in any. The ſettlements, by virtue of which he governs, are plainly *original contracts*: his inſtitution is plainly *conditional*; and he may forfeit his right to *allegiance*, as undeniably and effectually, as the ſubject his right to *protection* [76].

BUT theſe advantages, ſo much and ſo deſervedly praiſed, and which can never be too highly valued, ſerve at preſent only to convince us of the imperfection of all human inſtitutions. Happily poiſed as our government is, and though the people of this iſland have enjoyed, ſince the Revolution, the moſt perfect ſyſtem of liberty ever known among mankind, the ſpirit of patriotiſm, which, as it gave birth to that ſyſtem, can alone preſerve it entire, has continued to decline; and the freedom, though not the form of our conſtitution, is now expoſed to as much danger from the enſlaving *influence* of the crown, as ever it was from the invaſions of prerogative or the violence of arbitrary power. The nature of this influence (which, as it could not be diſtinctly foreſeen at the Revolution, was not ſufficiently guarded againſt), and the mode of its operation, as well as its riſe and progreſs, I ſhall afterward have occaſion to explain.

WE ſhould now return to the affairs on the continent; but, for the ſake of perſpicuity, it will be proper firſt to relate the efforts made by James II. for the recovery of his crown.

76 *Diſſertation on Parties*, Let. ix.

LET-

LETTER XVII.

GREAT BRITAIN *and* IRELAND, *from the Revolution in* 1688, *till the Aſſaſſination Plot in* 1696.

LETTER XVII. A.D. 1689.

THOUGH the Revolution, as we have already ſeen, my dear Philip, was brought about by a coalition of parties, not by a faction; though Whig and Tory, united by the tyrannical proceedings of James, contributed with their joint efforts to that event, the moſt glorious in the annals of liberty, yet this union was but the union of a day. No ſooner were the Tories freed from the terror of arbitrary power than their high monarchical principles began to return. It was the prevalence of theſe principles in the Engliſh convention, which occaſioned thoſe warm and contentious diſputes in regard to the vacancy of the throne and the original contract; and which, but for the obſtinacy of the Whigs, and the firmneſs of the prince of Orange, would have rendered the great work in which the nation was engaged imperfect.

THOUGH diſpoſed to nothing leſs, as a body, than the reſtoration of James, the Tories, enſlaved by their political prejudices, were ſtartled at the idea of breaking the line of ſucceſſion. Hence the ridiculous propoſal of a regency. And a party, ſince properly diſtinguiſhed by the reproachful appellation of *Jacobites*, ſecretly lurked among the Tories; a party, who from their attachment to the perſon or the family of the dethroned monarch, and an adherence to the monſtrous doctrines of paſſive obedience and of divine in-

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defeaſible hereditary right, wiſhed to bring back the king, and invariably held, that none but a STUART could juſtly be inveſted with the regal authority. Of this opinion were all the bigotted high-churchmen and Catholics in the three kingdoms. Among the Whigs, or moderate churchmen and diſſenters, in like manner, lurked many enthuſiaſtic Republicans; who hoped, in the national ferment, to effect a diſſolution of monarchy.

THE conteſt between theſe parties, fomented by the ambitious views of individuals, which long diſtracted the Engliſh government, and is not yet fully compoſed, began immediately after the Revolution, and threatened the ſudden ſubverſion of the new eſtabliſhment. The ſilent reſerved temper, and ſolitary diſpoſition of William, early diſguſted the citizens of London[1]; and the more violent Tories, who had loſt all the merit which their party might otherwiſe have claimed with the king, by oppoſing the change in the ſucceſſion, were enraged at ſeeing the current of court-favour run chiefly toward the Whigs. The hope of retaining this favour, and with it the principal offices of the ſtate (of which they had been ſo long in poſſeſſion, and to which they thought themſelves entitled, by the antiquity of their families, and their ſuperiority in landed property) was probably their leading motive for concurring in a revolution which they were ſenſible they could not prevent. But, whatever their motives might be for ſuch co-operation, they had juſtly forfeited all title to royal favour, by their ſubſequent conduct, not only in the eſtimation of William, but of all the zealous lovers of their country. They reverted to an-

[1] Burnet book v.

cient

cient prejudices and narrow principles, at a criſis when the nation was ready to embrace the moſt enlarged way of thinking, with reſpect both to religion and government. LETTER XVII. A. D. 1689.

THE church alſo was enraged at the general toleration which William, ſoon after his acceſſion, very prudently as well as liberally, granted to all his proteſtant ſubjects; and ſtill more by an attempt which he made toward a comprehenſion in England; while the whole epiſcopal body in Scotland took part with the Jacobites, in conſequence of the eſtabliſhment of the Preſbyterian religion in that kingdom. This eſtabliſhment the Scottiſh convention, which conſiſted chiefly of Preſbyterians, had demanded. They connected it intimately with the ſettlement of the crown [2]; and their ſpirit, in ſo doing, deſerves to be admired. But William had little to fear from that quarter. The Preſbyterians, who compoſed about three-fourths of the inhabitants of Scotland, were not only able to defend the new ſettlement, but willing to do it at the hazard of their lives. The ſtate of Ireland was very different.

THE great body of the people in that kingdom were Roman Catholics. The earl of Tyrconnel, a violent Papiſt, was lord-lieutenant; and all employments, civil and military, were in the hands of the ſame ſect. Yet this man, who had induced the infatuated James, by working on his civil and religious prejudices, to invade the privileges of the Iriſh corporations, in the ſame manner as thoſe of England had been attacked by Charles II. and who, under the plauſible pretence of relieving ſome diſtreſſed and

2. Burnet, ubi ſup.

really

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really injured papiſts, had prepared a bill for deſtroying the whole ſettlement of the kingdom, as eſtabliſhed at the Reſtoration, and which would have given to the crown the diſpoſal of almoſt all the lands in Ireland; this apparently zealous Catholic, and piouſly loyal ſubject, is ſaid to have traiterouſly made an offer of his government to the prince of Orange [3]; and William is ſaid to have politically refuſed it, that he might have a decent pretext for keeping up an army, in order to ſecure the obedience of England, and that he might be enabled, by Iriſh forfeitures, to gratify his Engliſh and foreign favourites [4]!

But one who lived at the time, who was no friend to William, and who had every opportunity of knowing the character and examining the adminiſtration of Tyrconnel, declares that his *firmneſs* preſerved Ireland in the intereſt of James, and that he *nobly* rejected all the *advantageous offers* which were made to induce him to ſubmit to the prince of Orange [5]: and the general tenor of his conduct, as well as the teſtimony of other cotemporary writers, ſeems to prove, That the propoſals which he ſent to the Prince were only intended to gain time, that he might be enabled to put his government in a better ſtate of defence, and procure aſſiſtance from France [6]. William, however,

3. Dalrymple's *Append.* 4. Macpherſon's *Hiſt. of Brit.* vol. i.
5. Duke of Berwick, *Mem.* vol. i.
6. In reaſoning ſo circumſtantially on this ſubject, I am leſs influenced by any deſire of vindicating the conduct of William or of Tyrconnel, than of ſhewing the inſufficiency of thoſe *original papers*, which have been ſo liberally produced of late years, to alter our opinion of the eſtabliſhed characters of men: for, as in the preſent caſe, Tyrconnel's *offer* to *negociate* with William is no *proof* of his being *a traitor* to James; ſo, in moſt other caſes, our ignorance of the motives of the parties ought to make us ſuſpend our judgment on ſuch doubtful or ſuſpicious evidence,

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A. D. 1689.

ever, though ſomewhat ſuſpicious of his ſincerity, did not ſlight the advances of the lord-lieutenant: he diſpatched general Hamilton, his countryman and friend to treat with him. Hamilton betrayed his truſt[7]; Tyrconnel, in conformity with his real views, levied a great body of troops, which having no regular pay, were left to live upon the plunder of the Proteſtants; and theſe unhappy people, rouſed by oppreſſion, and fearing a general maſſacre, flew to arms, and throwing themſelves into Londonderry, Inniſkilling, and other places of ſtrength, hoped to be able to hold out till they ſhould obtain relief from England[8].

In the mean time James, who had been received with marks of the moſt cordial affection by Lewis XIV, either from a ſympathy of religious ſentiments,

dence. At any rate, theſe *abortive intrigues*, and inſidious anecdotes, which have been brought as a charge againſt ſo many otherwiſe unſullied reputations, are fitter for the chronicle of ſcandal, or the memoirs of individuals, than the page of general hiſtory, which they can ſerve only to contaminate and perplex. Little farther attention ſhall, therefore, be paid to them in the body of this work; which has chiefly for its object *important events*, with their cauſes and conſequences.

To throw a ſhade over the brighteſt characters, cannot ſurely be a deſirable employment for a liberal mind; yet have ſome men of talents undertaken this invidious taſk, and proſecuted it with unwearied induſtry. They who love to contemplate human nature on the dark ſide, will find ſufficient food for their paſſion in Dalrymple's *Appendix*, and Macpherſon's *Original Papers*. Happily however theſe papers, contrary to the apparent purpoſe of the compilers, furniſh arguments for the advocates of freedom, as well as the abetters of deſpotiſm. I have accordingly uſed them as a counter-poiſon.

7. This treachery was attended with a very ſtriking circumſtance. Sir William Temple's ſon, who was ſecretary at war to king William, having engaged himſelf for the fidelity of Hamilton, was ſo much mortified at his defection, that he put an end to his own life, by leaping out of a boat into the Thames. Clarendon's *Diary*.

8. Burnet. King.

PART II. A. D. 1689. or with a view of making him ſubſervient to his ambition, was preparing to make a deſcent in Ireland. Preſſed by the ſolicitations, and encouraged by the favourable repreſentations of Tyrconnel, he accordingly embarked at Breſt, early in the ſpring, and March 12. landed ſafely at Kinſale, with only twelve hundred men, all his native ſubjects, one hundred French officers, and ſome gentlemen of diſtinction [8]. Seven battalions of French troops were afterward ſent over [9]. But theſe, and all his Iriſh forces, were by no means ſufficient to oppoſe the veteran army of William.

JAMES and his adherents, however, had other ideas of the matter. Elated at the preſence of a prince, who had loſt two kingdoms from his predilection for their religion, the Iriſh Catholics every where received him with the higheſt demonſtrations of joy. But this rage of loyalty, by involving him in meaſures ſubverſive not only of the Proteſtant intereſt, but of all the laws of juſtice and humanity, has diſgraced his character, and proved highly injurious to his cauſe. Having aſſembled a parliament, conſiſting chiefly of Catholics, a bill was paſſed for repealing the Act of Settlement, by which the Proteſtants were ſecured in the poſſeſſion of their eſtates; and, in order to complete the ruin of the whole ſect, an act of attainder was afterward paſſed againſt all Proteſtants, male and female, who were abſent from the kingdom; who did not acknowledge the authority of king James, or who had been any way connected with rebels from the firſt day of Auguſt in the preceding year [10]. The number of Proteſtants attainted by name in this act amounted to about three thouſand. Another violent

8. James II. 1689. 9. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i, 10. Burnet. Ralph. King.

act

act was passed, declaring Ireland independent of the English parliament [11]. LETTER XVII. A. D. 1689.

While James was thus attempting to establish his authority in Ireland, by flattering the prejudices of the natives, William was engaged in managing the English parliament, and in conducting that great system of continental policy, of which he had been so long the centre. To both these ends the violence of the Irish Catholics, their influence with the dethroned monarch, and his throwing himself into their hands, contributed not a little; and William, in order still farther to quiet and unite the minds of men, as well as to promote his own views, recommended to the parliament an act of general indemnity, and procured an address for a declaration of war against France. Both proposals were readily embraced. Inflamed with ancient and hereditary hate, and roused by recent jealousy, the English nation had long been desirous of turning its arms against Lewis XIV. and the supposed attachment of James to the French interest, his bigotry not excepted, had been the principal cause of his ruin. Had he acceded to the league of Augsburg, he would never have lost his crown. Threatened by that league, and willing to strike the first blow, Lewis had sent an army into Alsace, and made himself master of Philipsburg in 1688. This violence, which was immediately succeeded by others, alarmed the emperor, Spain, Holland, and all the confederate powers on the continent. They saw the necessity of having immediate recourse to arms; and the interposition of France in the affairs of Ireland, furnished William with a good pretence for throwing

11. Ibid.

the

PART II. A. D. 1689. the whole weight of England into the hoſtile ſcale. The confederacy was now complete.

But the critical ſtate of his new dominions called off the attention of William, for a time, from the continental ſyſtem. The duke of Gordon ſtill held out the caſtle of Edinburgh for James; and the viſcount, Dundee, the ſoul of the Jacobite party in Scotland, having collected a ſmall but gallant army of Highlanders, threatened with ſubjection the whole northern part of the kingdom. Dundee, who had publicly diſavowed the authority of the Scottiſh convention, had been declared an out-law by that aſſembly; and general Mackay was ſent againſt him with a body of regular troops. Lord Murray, ſon to the marquis of Athol, had laid ſiege to the caſtle of Blair, which was held by ſome of the adherents of James. Sir Alexander Maclean, by Dundee's order, marched againſt Murray, and forced him to raiſe the ſiege. But this event did not decide the conteſt. Mackay, who had hitherto contented himſelf with obſtructing the progreſs, or watching the motions of the Highlanders, reſolved to reduce the diſputed caſtle, and put himſelf in motion for that purpoſe.

Apprised of the deſign of his antagoniſt, Dundee ſummoned up all his enterpriſing ſpirit, and by forced marches arrived in Athol before him. Next morning
July 17. he was informed that Mackay's vanguard, conſiſting of four hundred men, had cleared the paſs of Killicranky; a narrow defile, formed by the ſteep ſide of the Grampian-hills, and a dark, rapid, and deep river. Though chagrined at this intelligence, Dundee was not diſconcerted. He immediately diſpatched Sir Alexander

Alexander Maclean to attack the enemy's advanced party, with an equal number of his clan, while he himſelf ſhould approach with the main body of the Highlanders. But before Maclean had proceeded a mile, Dundee received information that Mackay had marched through the paſs with his whole army. He commanded Maclean to halt, and boldly advanced with his faithful band, determined to give battle to the enemy. LETTER XVII. A.D. 1689.

MACKAY's army, conſiſting of four thouſand five hundred foot, and two troops of horſe, was formed in eight battalions, and ready for action, when Dundee came in view. His own brave, but undiſciplined followers, of all ranks and conditions, did not exceed three thouſand three hundred men. Theſe he inſtantly ranged in hoſtile array. They ſtood inactive for ſeveral hours in ſight of the enemy, on the ſteep ſide of a hill, which faced the narrow plain where Mackay had formed his line, neither party chuſing to change their ground. But the ſignal for battle was no ſooner given, than the Highlanders ruſhed down the hill in deep columns; and having diſcharged their muſkets with effect, they had recourſe to the broadſword, their proper weapon, with which they furiouſly attacked the enemy. Mackay's left wing was inſtantly broken, and driven from the field with great ſlaughter by the Macleans, who formed the right of Dundee's army. The Macdonalds, who compoſed his left, were not equally ſucceſsful: colonel Haſtings's regiment of Engliſh foot repelled their moſt vigorous efforts, and obliged them to retreat. But Sir Alexander Maclean and Sir Evan Cameron, at the head of part of their reſpective clans, ſuddenly aſſailed this gallant regiment in flank, and forced it to give way, or cut it in pieces.

THE

PART II.

THE victory was now complete. Two thouſand of Mackay's army were ſlain; and his artillery, baggage, ammunition, proviſions, and even king William's Dutch ſtandard, fell into the hands of the Highlanders. But their joy, like a ſmile upon the cheek of death, deluſive and inſincere, was of ſhort duration. Dundee was mortally wounded, in the purſuit, by a muſket ſhot. He ſurvived the battle, but expired ſoon after, and with him periſhed the hopes of James in Scotland. The caſtle of Edinburgh had already ſurrendered to the convention; and the Highlanders, diſcouraged by the loſs of a leader whom they loved and almoſt adored, gradually diſperſed themſelves, and returned to their ſavage mountains, to bewail him in their ſongs [12]. His memory is ſtill dear to them: he is conſidered as the laſt of their heroes; and his name, even to this day, is ſeldom mentioned among them without a ſigh or a tear [13]. Dundee, indeed, appears to have been a very extraordinary man. Beſide great knowlege of the military art, the talent of ſeizing advantages, and the moſt perfect recollection in battle, he poſſeſſed, in no common degree, that diſtinguiſhing feature of the heroic character, the power of influencing the opinions of others, and of inſpiring them with his own ardour.

FORTUNE did not prove more favourable to the affairs of James in Ireland. His moſt important enterpriſe was the ſiege of Londonderry. Before this town he appeared in perſon, with a large army, commanded by the mareſchal de Roſen, de Maumont, general Hamilton, the duke of Berwick, and other officers of diſtinction. But ſo bold was the ſpirit of

12. MS *Accounts* in Dalrymple and Macpherſon. Thoſe of Macpherſon are chiefly followed in this narration. 13. Macpherſon.

the inhabitants, that, inſtead of tamely ſurrendering, they gallantly repelled all attempts to reduce the place, and even annoyed the beſiegers with their ſallies. At length, however, weakened and diſtreſſed by famine, and diminiſhed in number by peſtilence, its too common attendant, they were reduced almoſt to deſpair. In order finally to complete their depreſſion, in this frightful extremity, mareſchal de Roſen, in the abſence of James, collected all the Proteſtants in the neighbouring country, to the number of four or five thouſand, without diſtinction of age, ſex, or condition, and cruelly placed them between his lines and the walls of the town; where many of them were ſuffered to periſh of hunger, from a perſuaſion that the beſieged would either relieve their friends or ſurrender the place. But this barbarous expedient had no ſuch effect: it ſerved only to confirm the inhabitants in their reſolution of holding out to the laſt man. Happily, before their perſeverance utterly failed, a reinforcement arrived from England with ammunition and proviſions, and the beſiegers thought proper to abandon the undertaking [14].

THE difficulties of James now crowded faſt upon him. Soon after the failure of this enterprize, the mareſchal, created duke of Schomberg, landed in Ireland with ten thouſand men. But the impracticable nature of the country, his inacquaintance with it, and the declining ſeaſon, prevented that able and experienced general from making any progreſs before the cloſe of the campaign. During the winter, however, though his troops ſuffered greatly by diſeaſe, he gained ſome advantages over the Iriſh; and William, in

14. King. Burnet. Duke of Berwick. James II. 1689.

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order to quicken his operations, and put at once an end to the war, came over in perſon, with a freſh army, the beginning of next ſummer.

JAMES, on this occaſion, embraced a reſolution that has been conſidered as raſh, but worthy of a ſovereign contending for his laſt kingdom. Though his army was inferior in numbers, as well as in diſcipline, to that of his rival, he determined to put all to the hazard of a battle. He accordingly took poſt on the ſouthern bank of the Boyne, and extended his troops in two lines, oppoſed to the deep and dangerous fords of that river. No poſition could be more advantageous. A moraſs defended him on the left, and in his rear lay the village of Dunore, where he had entrenched a body of troops. But all theſe circumſtances, ſo favourable to James, did not diſcourage William from ſeeking an engagement. After having reconnoitred the ſituation of the enemy, he reſolved, contrary to the advice of Schomberg, to attack them next morning, though under no neceſſity of running
July 1. ſuch a riſk. His army accordingly paſſed the river in three diviſions, one of which he headed in perſon. Schomberg, who led another, was killed ſoon after reaching the oppoſite bank, but not before he had broken the Iriſh infantry. The Iriſh cavalry, commanded by general Hamilton and the duke of Berwick, behaved with more ſpirit, charging and re-charging ten times. But even they were at laſt obliged to yield to ſuperior force. General Hamilton was made priſoner; and James, who had ſhewn ſome courage, but no conduct, thought proper to retreat toward Dublin, under cover of the French auxiliaries, who had never been put into diſorder. His loſs was but ſmall, not exceeding fifteen hundred men; yet was the victory complete,

plete, as many of the Iriſh troops deſerted their officers during the following night, and returned to their ſeveral homes [15].

THE ſubſequent conduct of James was more blamable than either his precipitancy in riſking a battle, or his behaviour during the engagement, allowing both to be deſerving of cenſure. No ſooner was he informed of the diſperſion of his army than he deſpondingly gave up Ireland as loſt; and, leaving the inhabitants of Dublin to make their own conditions with the victor, immediately embarked for France, though he had ſtill many reſources left. By bravely collecting his ſcattered, but not annihilated forces, and drawing troops from his different garriſons, independent of new levies, he might have appeared in the field more formidable than ever; whereas his puſillanimous flight, by diſheartening his friends, and encouraging his enemies, left but a melancholy proſpect to his generals.

BUT theſe new reſources, and the conſequences of neglecting them, did not occur to a mind broken by accumulated misfortunes. Beſides the fugitive monarch tells us, that he had hopes of being able to recover the Engliſh crown, by means of an armament from France, during the abſence of William and his veteran troops. Theſe hopes, however, ſuddenly diſappeared; though, on his arrival at Breſt, the proſpect ſeemed to brighten. He was there informed, that the French navy had gained a ſignal victory over the combined fleet of England and Holland, commanded by the earl of Torrington and admiral Evertzen, and that Tourville was riding triumphant in the

15. Ralph. King. Duke of Berwick. James II. 1690.

PART II. A. D. 1690.

Channel. All this was nearly true; and a deſcent in England, in favour of James, might certainly have been made to great advantage, while it was in the power of the French fleet to have prevented the return of William. But the flight of that unfortunate prince from Ireland, had ſo diſcouraging an aſpect, and Lewis XIV. placed ſo little faith in the perpetual rumours of inſurrections and diſcontents in England, that he was reſolved not to riſk an army in ſuch an enterprize. He, therefore, lent a deaf ear to all James's propoſals for an invaſion. He even refuſed him a ſmall ſupply of ammunition for the remains of the army in Ireland, ſaying, that whatever ſhould be ſent thither would be ſo much loſt [16]. As a proof of his ſincerity, he diſpatched tranſports to bring off his own troops. And James labouring under the deepeſt mortification and ſelf-condemnation, was made ſeverely ſenſible, when too late, That a prince, who deſerts his own cauſe, will ſoon ſee it deſerted by all the world.

THE Iriſh, however, though abandoned by their king and his grand ally, did not reſign themſelves to deſpondency, or attempt by ſubmiſſions to conciliate the clemency of their invaders. Seemingly aſhamed of their miſbehaviour at the paſſage of the Boyne (for it does not deſerve the name of a battle), and anxious to vindicate their reputation, they every where made a gallant reſiſtance; a circumſtance which contributed not a little to aggravate the tormenting reflexions of James, by convincing him, that his adverſe fortune was more to be aſcribed to his own imprudence than to the diſloyalty of his ſubjects, or their want of zeal in his ſervice.

16 James II. 1690.

AFTER

LETTER XVII.

A. D. 1690.

AFTER viſiting Dublin, William advanced with his whole army to inveſt Limerick; into which the remains of James's infantry had thrown themſelves, whilſt the cavalry, under the command of Berwick and Tyrconnel, kept the field, in order to convey ſupplies to the garriſon. Limerick is ſituated on the Shannon, where that river is broad, deep, and rapid. Part of the town ſtands on the Munſter ſide, part on an iſland in the Shannon, and the caſtle on the ſide of Clare. Theſe three diviſions were united by two bridges. William, not daring to croſs the Shannon in the face of the enemy's cavalry, inveſted Limerick only on the ſouth ſide; ſo that it was in no danger of being diſtreſſed for want of proviſions. Aware of this diſadvantage, he attempted to carry the place by ſtorm, after having made a practicable breach in the walls. But although ten thouſand men, by a kind of ſurprize, made their way into the town, the Iriſh charged them with ſuch fury in the ſtreets, that they were driven out with great ſlaughter [17]. Chagrined at his failure in that aſſault, which coſt him near two thouſand men, William raiſed the ſiege in diſguſt, and returned ſoon after to England [18].

Auguſt 30.

BUT this repulſe, though inglorious to the Britiſh monarch, afforded ſhort relief to the adherents of the dethroned prince. Lord Churchill, created earl of Marlborough, who may juſtly be denominated the evil genius of James, arrived ſoon after in Ireland, with five thouſand freſh troops. More active and enterpriſing than William, and even, perhaps, al-

17. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i.

18. Id. ibid, "He gave out, through Europe," ſays the duke of Berwick, "that continual rains had been the cauſe of his abandoning "of the enterprize; but I can affirm that not a drop of rain fell for above "a month before, or for three weeks after." *Mem.* vol. i.

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ready more deeply ſkilled in the whole machinery of war, he reduced in a few weeks Corke and Kinſale, though both made a vigorous defence; and having put his army into winter-quarters, he returned to England covered with glory at the cloſe of the campaign [19].

IRELAND, however, was by no means yet ſubdued. Athlone, Galway, Limerick, and other places A. D. 1691. ſtill held out. Athlone was beſieged in the beginning of next campaign by baron Ginckle, who commanded the forces of William. And by an effort of boldneſs and vigour, to which hiſtory ſcarce furniſhes a parallel, the place, though ſtrongly garriſoned, was carried by ſtorm and ſurprize between two and three in the afternoon; and although the Iriſh army lay encamped behind it, and the aſſailants, who had the Shannon to ford, were breaſt-high in water when they advanced to the breach!—St. Ruth, who commanded the Iriſh army, and whom Lewis XIV. had ſent over for that purpoſe, at the requeſt of James, filled with ſhame at his own fatal negligence, determined to hazard a battle with the enemy; and to recover his reputation, or loſe the kingdom and his life in the attempt. He accordingly took poſt at Aghrim, where he waited the approach of Ginckle. An obſtinate engagement enſued, in which the fortune of the day remained long doubtful, but at laſt declared againſt St. Ruth. He was killed by a cannon-ball, in bringing forward his body of reſerve, and his army was totally routed [20].

THE

19. Ralph. King. Duke of Berwick.

20. Ibid. The duke of Berwick is by no means of opinion, that "the crown of Ireland depended on the opportune fall of St. Ruth."

On

LETTER XVII.

A D. 1691.

THE remains of the Iriſh forces, and the garriſon of Galway, took refuge in Limerick, which was a ſecond time beſieged by a great army of Engliſh and foreign troops; and Tyrconnel being dead, the duke of Berwick recalled, and the impoſſibility of ſupporting the war evident, the place capitulated, after a ſiege of ſix weeks, and all Ireland ſubmitted to the arms of William[21]. The terms granted to the garriſon were highly favourable, not only to the beſieged but to all their countrymen in arms. It was agreed that they ſhould receive a general pardon; that their eſtates ſhould be reſtored, their attainders annulled, and their outlawries reverſed; that Roman Catholics ſhould enjoy the ſame toleration, with reſpect to religion, as in the reign of Charles II. that they ſhould be reſtored to all the privileges of ſubjects, on merely taking the oaths of allegiance; and that ſuch as choſe to follow the fortunes of James, ſhould be conveyed to the continent at the expence of government[22].

BETWEEN twelve and twenty thouſand men took advantage of this laſt article, and were regimented by the dethroned monarch, but paid by the king of France. Among the moſt diſtinguiſhed of theſe refugees was major-general Sarsfield, whom James had created earl of Lucan. He had rendered him-

On the contrary, he declares, that the battle was already loſt, and thinks it impoſſible for St. Ruth to have reſtored it with his body of reſerve, which conſiſted only of ſix ſquadrons. Mem. vol. i.

21. Burnet. Ralph. Duke of Berwick. 22. Articles of Capitulation.

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ſelf very popular in Ireland by oppoſing the moderate counſels of Tyrconnel, and was highly exalted in his own opinion, as well as in that of his countrymen, by his ſucceſs in ſeizing a convoy on its way to the Engliſh camp before Limerick. He was, ſays the duke of Berwick, a man of an amazing ſtature, utterly void of ſenſe, very good natured, and very brave [23].—We muſt now return to the affairs of England.

WILLIAM, whoſe firſt care it had been to get the Convention converted into a Parliament, was ſoon diſguſted with that aſſembly, to which he owed his crown. The obligations on one ſide, and the claims of gratitude on the other, were indeed too great to afford any rational proſpect of a laſting harmony; and other cauſes conſpired to excite diſcord. The Convention Parliament, which conſiſted chiefly of Whigs, the ever watchful guardians of liberty, refuſed to ſettle on William the revenue of the crown for life. Notwithſtanding their good opinion of his principles, they were unwilling to render him independent: they, therefore, granted the revenue only for one year. The Tories took advantage of this patriotic jealouſy, to render their rivals odious to the king; who, although educated in a republic, was naturally imperious and fond of power. They repreſented the Whigs as men who were enemies to kingly government, and whom the circumſtances of the times

23. *Mem.* vol. i.

only

only had thrown into the ſcale of monarchy. And William, who had publicly declared, That a king without a permanent revenue was no better than a pageant, and who conſidered ſo cloſe a dependence on his ſubjects as altogether inconſiſtent with the regal authority, readily liſtened to ſuch inſinuations; and, in order to emancipate himſelf, diſſolved the parliament [24].

THE new parliament, which conſiſted almoſt wholly of Tories, not only ſettled the revenue of the crown on William for life, but granted liberal ſupplies for carrying on the war in Ireland, and on the continent. In thoſe votes the Whigs concurred, that they might not ſeem to deſtroy the work of their own hands. But the heads of the party were highly diſſatisfied, at ſeeing that favour, and thoſe offices, to which they thought themſelves entitled by their paſt ſervices, beſtowed chiefly upon the Tories. They entered into cabals with the Jacobites, and even held a ſecret correſpondence with the dethroned monarch [25]. The Preſbyterians in Scotland, offended at the reſervation of patronage, or the power of preſenting miniſters to the vacant Kirks, made by the king, in the propoſed eſtabliſhment of their religion, alſo joined in the ſame intrigues. But William, by permitting his commiſſioner to agree to any law, relative to their eccleſiaſtical government, that ſhould to the majority of the general aſſembly ſeem moſt eligible, entirely quieted their diſcontents; and, in ſome meaſure, diſ-

24. Burnet. Ralph. 1691.

25. Dalrymple's *Append.* James II.

con-

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concerted the designs of the disgusted Whigs in England, with whom they had entered into the most intimate connexions, and who hoped to make use of the fanatical fury of the Scots, in disturbing that settlement which they had so lately founded [26].

The adherents of James, however, were still numerous in the North of Scotland; and William, by a frightful example of severity, seemed determined to awe them into allegiance, or to rouse them to some desperate act of hostility, which might justify a general vengeance.

In consequence of a pacification with the Highlanders, a proclamation of indemnity had been issued to such insurgents as should take the oaths to the king and queen before the last day of December, in the year 1691. The heads of all the clans, who had been in arms for James, strictly complied with the terms of the proclamation except Macdonald of Glenco: — and his neglect, in suffering the time limited to elapse, was occasioned rather by accident than design. His submission was afterward received by the sheriff, though not without scruple. This difficulty, however, being got over, he considered himself as under the protection of the laws, and lived in the most perfect security. But ruin was ready to overtake him for his unpardonable delay in tendering his allegiance. William, at the instigation of Sir John Dalrymple, his secretary for Scotland, signed a warrant of military execution against Macdonald and his whole clan. And it was put in force by his countryman, Campbell, of Glenlyon, with the most savage barbarity, accompanied with a breach of

A. D. 1692. Feb. 13.

26. Burnet. Balcarras. Macpherson.

hospitality,

hoſpitality. Macdonald himſelf was ſhot dead with two bullets in the back part of the head, by one Lindſay, an officer whom he had entertained as his gueſt: his tenants were murdered by the ſoldiers to whom they had given free quarters: women were killed in defending their tender offspring; and boys, in imploring mercy, were butchered by the officers to whoſe knees they clung [27]!—Near forty perſons were maſſacred, and many of thoſe who eſcaped to the mountains periſhed of hunger or cold. All the houſes in the valley of Glenco were reduced to aſhes; the cattle were driven away, and with the other moveables divided as ſpoil amongſt the officers and ſoldiers [28]. Never was military execution more complete.

THIS cruel maſſacre, which ſhocked all Europe, could not fail to rouſe the reſentment of the Jacobites in general, but more eſpecially of the Highlanders; and the diſſatisfied Whigs made uſe of it, in order to render odious the government of William. An inſurrection, in favour of the dethroned monarch, was projected both in England and Scotland. James himſelf had taken all the ſteps, which his own prudence or the advice of his friends could ſuggeſt, to render his return agreeable to his former ſubjects; and Lewis XIV. encouraged by favourable accounts from Britain, began ſeriouſly to think of an invaſion. An army of twenty thouſand Iriſh and French troops, under the mareſchal de Bellafons, fell down toward the coaſt of Normandy. James, attended by the duke of Berwick, arrived in the camp, between Cherburg and La Hogue. Three hundred tranſports were aſſembled at Breſt; and every thing was ready for the intended em-

27. *Inquiry into the Maſſacre at Glenco*, *State Tracts*, vol. iii.

28. Ibid.

bark-

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barkation, when an unfortunate concurrence of circumſtances defeated the whole enterprize [29].

LEWIS, victorious by ſea as well as land, had appointed a powerful naval force to ſupport this invaſion. But the Toulon ſquadron, conſiſting of thirty ſail, commanded by d'Eſtrees, was prevented, by contrary winds, from joining the Breſt fleet, under Tourville. Meanwhile the alarm of an invaſion had ſpread to England, and the earl of Marlborough, and ſeveral other perſons of leſs note, were ſent to the Tower, on ſuſpicion of holding a treaſonable correſpondence with their dethroned ſovereign [30]. Admiral Ruſſell was ordered out with the Engliſh fleet; and having form-

29. *Stuart Papers*, 1692. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i.

30. The earl of Marlborough certainly held a ſecret correſpondence with James; but that unfortunate monarch never believed him to be ſincere: he ſuſpected him of a deſign to betray his ſovereign a ſecond time. Admiral Ruſſell ſeems alſo to have entered into theſe intrigues: and James had no better opinion of his ſincerity. He was apprehenſive that Ruſſell, as a man of republican principles, wanted only to unhinge the government, and to debaſe the crown in the perſon of fallen majeſty. James II. 1692. See alſo Dalrymple's *Append.* and Macpherſon's *Original Papers.*

But whatever opinions Ruſſell might hold, or whatever views he might ſecretly entertain, his conduct proves him to have been an able and faithful ſervant to his country. Nor does any one feature in his character or circumſtance in his life, afford us the ſmalleſt room to believe, whatever we may be told by the aſſaſſins of public virtue, that he could ever ſeriouſly intend to betray *that* country, and his truſt as an Engliſh admiral, by carrying over the fleet under his command to the dethroned monarch, while a papiſt and penſioner of Lewis XIV. The ambitious and intriguing genius of Marlborough, his original treachery to James, and his long and intimate correſpondence with his former maſter and benefactor, whom he had betrayed, leave us more in the dark with reſpect to his ultimate deſigns. He appears to have had neither moral nor political principles, when they interfered with his avarice or ambition; and it ſeems certain that, from zeal for the ſervice of James, or an averſion againſt William, he defeated, by his ſecret intelligence, an expedition againſt Breſt, under admiral Ruſſell, in 1694. *Stuart Papers*, May, 1694. James II. 1694.

ed a junction with the Dutch ſquadron, he directed his courſe for La Hogue. Off that place, about four o'clock in the morning, he diſcovered Tourville; who, though ſenſible of the ſuperiority of the enemy, reſolved to hazard an engagement, in order to vindicate himſelf from an aſperſion that had been thrown on his courage by M. de Seignelay, miniſter for the marine. He accordingly bore down in the Royal Sun, of one hundred and four guns, upon Ruſſell, in the Britannia, of one hundred guns. The reſt of the French fleet fell in with the Engliſh line, and a hot engagement enſued, in which the Dutch had little ſhare. The two admirals plied their guns very warmly from eleven till one; when Tourville, being diſabled, was towed off by his boats, and five freſh ſhips, with a furious fire, covered his retreat[31].

LETTER XVII. A.D. 1692. May 19.

A FOG, which fell about four in the afternoon, preſerved the French fleet from inſtant and inevitable ruin. But they were not ſuffered to eſcape without loſs. Four of Tourville's ſhips, which had been ſet on fire during the engagement, blew up during the night. Next morning the chace was renewed; and the Royal Sun, the Admirable, another firſt rate, and the Conqueror, an eighty-gun ſhip, were deſtroyed near Cherburg. The day following, thirteen line of battle ſhips, which had ſought ſafety by running aſhore at La Hogue, were burnt, together with twenty tranſports, laden with military ſtores[32]. James, to the utter confuſion of his hopes, beheld from the ſhore this deſtruction, which it was not in his power to prevent, and which totally broke the force of the French navy[33].

31. Ruſſell's *Letter to Nottingham*, June 2, 1692. 32. *Ibid.*

33. "Ah!"—exclaimed the unfortunate monarch, with a mixture of admiration and regret, at ſeeing the French fleet ſet on fire,—"none but my brave Engliſh tars could have performed ſo gallant an action!" Dalrymple's *Mem.*

THE

PART II. A. D. 1692. The adherents of James in England, however, were not discouraged. They considered the failure of the invasion as an accident, which might soon be repaired, and continued to disturb the government with their intrigues. These intrigues, the perpetual opposition between the Whigs and Tories, and the necessity of large supplies to support the war on the continent, gave rise to two great and growing evils, A. D. 1693. intimately connected with each other; the national debt and the corruption of the house of commons. At the same time that William, by a pernicious funding system, was loading the state with immense sums, borrowed to maintain his continental connections, he was liberal of the public money to his servants at home; and employed it with little ceremony, to bring over his enemies, or to procure a majority in parliament.

In order to put a stop to this corruption, so far as it affected the representatives of the people, a bill was brought in for Triennial Parliaments; and William A. D. 1694. found himself under the necessity of passing it, or of losing the vote of supply, with which it was made to go hand in hand. He was beside afraid to exert the influence of the crown, in defeating a bill of so much consequence to the nation; more especially as the queen, whose death he was sensible would weaken his authority, was then indisposed [34]. A similar bill, as we have already seen, was extorted from Charles I. but repealed, soon after the Restoration, in compliment to Charles II. To this imprudent compliance may be ascribed the principal disorders during that and the subsequent reign. A house of commons, elected every three years, would have formed such a

[34] Burnet, book v.

ſtrong bulwark to liberty, as muſt have baffled and diſcouraged all the attacks of arbitrary power. The more honeſt and independent part of the community, therefore, zealouſly promoted the preſent law; which, while it continued in force, certainly contributed to ſtem the tide of corruption, and to produce a more fair repreſentation of the people. How it came to be repealed, I ſhall afterward have occaſion to notice.

THE queen, as William had apprehended, died ſoon after the paſſing of this important bill. Mary was a woman of great equality of temper, and of no ſmall ſhare of underſtanding. She was a ſincere proteſtant; and by her exemplary piety, the purity of her manners, and even by her notable induſtry, ſhe contributed much to reform the court, which had been extremely licentious during the two former reigns. Nor was ſhe deſtitute of political addreſs; which, in the abſence of her huſband, ſhe employed in ſuch a manner as to conciliate the affections of all parties. But here her praiſe muſt ceaſe. She poſſeſſed few ſhining virtues, or elegant accompliſhments. And the character of an obedient wife, ſo juſtly her due, is ſhaded by the reproach of being a cruel ſiſter, and an unfeeling daughter; who entered the palace of her father, ſoon after he had been forced to leave it, and aſcended his throne with as much gaiety as if he had been an enemy to her exiſtence, inſtead of an indulgent parent, and the fountain of her blood [35]!

WILLIAM appeared to be very much afflicted at the death of the queen; and, however little regard he might have for her engaging perſon, from the cold-

35. Burnet, book iv. v.

neſs

PART II. A. D. 1694.

neſs of his own diſpoſition, his grief was poſſibly ſincere. Her open and agreeable deportment, and her natural alliance to the throne, had chiefly contributed to reconcile the minds of men to his government. The Whigs could forgive her every breach of filial duty, on account of her adherence to the proteſtant religion and the principles of liberty; and even the Tories were ready to aſcribe her ſeeming want of ſympathy with her father's misfortunes, to an obſequious ſubmiſſion to the will of her huſband. With her all natural title to the Engliſh crown expired, on the part of William; and although his authority, ſupported by the Act of Settlement, was too firmly eſtabliſhed to be immediately ſhaken, the hopes of the Jacobites began daily to riſe, and conſpiracies were formed againſt his life, as the only bar to the reſtoration of James, and the ſucceſſion of his ſon, the titular prince of Wales, whoſe legitimacy ſeemed now to be put beyond all queſtion, by the queen's undiſputed delivery of a daughter [36].

A. D. 1695.

THE moſt dangerous of theſe conſpiracies, conducted by Sir George Barclay and other violent Jacobites, was intimately connected with a plan for an inſurrection in England, and an invaſion from France. The duke of Berwick was ſent over to forward the inſurrection. But the Engliſh nobility and gentry in the intereſt of James, though warmly diſpoſed to ſerve him, very prudently refuſed to take arms until a body of troops ſhould be landed to ſupport them. Finding them obſtinate in this reſolution, and being informed

A. D. 1696.

36. As the princeſs of Denmark had long held a ſecret correſpondence with her father, and obtained his pardon for her undutiful conduct, it was preſumed ſhe would not oppoſe his reſtoration, by pleading her parliamentary title to the ſucceſſion.

of the conſpiracy againſt the life of William, the duke immediately returned to France, that he might not be confounded with men, whoſe atrocious purpoſe had no connexion with his commiſſion; though he thought himſelf bound in honour, he tells us, not to diſſuade them from it 37! LETTER XVIII. A. D. 1696.

In the mean time the troops, intended for the invaſion, were aſſembled at Dunkirk and Calais. Four hundred tranſports were collected, and eighteen men of war were ready to eſcort them. James himſelf was on his way to join the army, when he was met by the duke of Berwick, after his return from England. Though he could not blame the caution of his friends, he was not a little mortified at it, as Lewis XIV. had poſitively declared, that he would not allow his troops to embark before an inſurrection had actually taken place. The diſconſolate prince, however, proceeded to Calais, in anxious expectation of the iſſue of the aſſaſſination plot; from which, though undertaken without his authority, he hoped to derive advantage in his preſent diſtreſſing circumſtances. Like a drowning mariner, he caught at a ſlippery rope, and reſted his deſperate fortune on the point of a ruffian's ſword. But his ſuſpence and embarraſſment were ſoon removed. The plot was diſcovered; ſeveral of the conſpirators were ſeized and executed, and all England was thrown into a ferment. The current of public opinion was ſuddenly changed. Even many of thoſe, who hated the perſon and diſliked the government of William, were ſhocked at the idea of a barbarous attempt upon his life; and his throne, which ſeemed

37. *Mem.* vol. i.

PART II. lately to ſhake to its baſe, was now more firmly eſtabliſhed than ever [38].
A. D. 1696.

ADMIRAL Ruſſell, on the firſt certain intelligence of the projected invaſion, was ordered to repair to the Downs. Having hoiſted his flag on board the Victory, he collected with incredible diligence and diſpatch, a fleet of fifty ſail, with which he appeared before Calais: and although he found it impracticable to deſtroy the French ſhipping, or greatly to injure the town, he ſpread terror all along the coaſt, and convinced the enemy of the neceſſity of attending to their own ſafety, inſtead of ambitiouſly attempting to invade their neighbours [39]. Thus were all the hopes of James and his adherents blaſted, by what the French termed his MALIGNANT STAR. Covered with ſhame and confuſion, and overwhelmed with diſappointment and deſpair, he returned to St. Germains; where, laying aſide all thoughts of an earthly crown, he turned his views ſolely toward heaven. Lewis XIV. who was an accompliſhed gentleman as well as a magnificent king, treated the dethroned monarch, on every occaſion, with much tenderneſs and reſpect. But ſome of the French courtiers were leſs polite than their ſovereign. "There," ſaid one of them, in the hearing of James, "is a ſimpleton, who has loſt three "kingdoms for a maſs [40]!"

38. Burnet, book v. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i. James II. 1696. Amid all theſe conſpiracies, againſt his perſon and government, William diſcovered a cool courage, which does great honour to his memory. On ſome occaſions he diſplayed even a generous magnanimity that claims admiration. He not only pardoned but continued in employment ſome of his principal ſervants, after making them ſenſible that he was acquainted with their intrigues!—And he was rewarded with that fidelity which ſuch heroic confidence deſerved.

39. Id. ibid. 40. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xiv.

WE ſhall ſee, in the courſe of events, Lewis himſelf obliged to abandon the cauſe of this royal refugee, and to acknowledge the right of William to his dominions. LETTER XVII. A.D. 1696.

LETTER XVIII.

The Military Tranſactions on the Continent, from the Beginning of the War that followed the League of AUGSBURG, *to the Peace of* RYSWICK, *in* 1697, *and of* CARLOWITZ, *in* 1699.

I HAVE already had occaſion to obſerve, that Lewis XIV. threatened by the powerful confederacy formed in conſequence of the league of Augſburg, made himſelf maſter of Philipſburg and other places, in 1688, as a prelude to more vigorous exertions; and that the alliance againſt him was completed, by the acceſſion of England, in 1689. I have alſo had occaſion to notice, that the emperor Leopold, the ſuppoſed head of this alliance, having ſubdued the malcontents in Hungary, had got his ſon, Joſeph, proclaimed king of that country, and the Hungarian crown declared hereditary in the houſe of Auſtria. LETTER XVIII. A.D. 1688.

THAT revolution was not accompliſhed without the ſhedding of much blood, both in the field and on the ſcaffold. Leopold, the protector of Chriſtendom, and the aſſertor of the rights of nations, was himſelf a tyrant and a perſecutor. He was ſtill engaged in hoſtilities with the Turks; but the taking of Belgrade by aſſault, joined to his other ſucceſſes, enabled him to take part in the war againſt Lewis, whoſe vainglorious ambition had alarmed all Europe. Beſide a

PART II. A. D. 1688.

jealouſy for the liberties of Germany, Leopold had other motives for entering into this war. He was ſenſible, that the *Moſt Chriſtian King*, while perſecuting his own proteſtant ſubjects, for not conforming to the church of Rome, had ſupported the Proteſtants in Hungary! that he had incited them to take arms in defence of thoſe heretical opinions, which he abhorred! and that, by his intrigues, he had even encouraged the Infidels to invade the *Holy Roman Empire*, the great bulwark of the Chriſtian world!

THE French monarch, truſting to his great reſources, prepared himſelf to repel the ſtorm which his ambition had raiſed, with a vigour proportioned to the occaſion. He aſſembled two armies in Flan-

A.D. 1689.

ders: he oppoſed a third to the Spaniards in Catalonia; and in order to form a barrier on the ſide of Germany, he laid waſte the Palatinate with fire and ſword, after having made himſelf maſter of its principal towns. This barbarous policy, which has been juſtly and ſeverely blamed, can never be held in too much deteſtation. Men Women and children, were

February.

driven in a ſevere ſeaſon, out of their habitations, to wander about the fields, and to periſh of hunger and cold; while they beheld their houſes reduced to aſhes, their goods ſeized, and their poſſeſſions pillaged by the rapacious ſoldiery. The terrible execution began at Manheim, the ſeat of the electors; where not only the palaces of thoſe princes were raſed to the ground, but their very tombs opened in ſearch of hidden treaſures, and their venerable duſt ſcattered in the air[1]. Twice, during the reign of Lewis XIV. was this fine country deſolated by the arms of France; but the flames lighted by Turenne, however dreadful, were

1. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xv. Hainault, 1689.

only

only like ſo many torches, compared with the preſent frightful conflagration, which filled all Europe with horror.

NOR did that cruel expedient, ſo diſgraceful to the character of the French monarch, anſwer the end propoſed: it ſerved only to increaſe the number and the rancour of his enemies. Though Lewis had near four hundred thouſand men in the field, he found himſelf inferior to the allies Eleven thouſand Engliſh troops, commanded by the earl of Marlborough, augmented the army of Spain and the United Provinces, in Flanders, to near fifty thouſand men. The Germanic body, united under the emperor, aſſembled three formidable armies, beſide that oppoſed to the Turks; namely, one under the elector of Bavaria, who commanded on the Upper Rhine; another, and the main army, led by the duke of Lorrain, who acted on the Middle Rhine; and a third, conducted, by the elector of Brandenburg, appeared on the Lower Rhine.

THE duke of Lorrain, paſſing the Rhine at Coblentz, and the Moſelle at Alcken, purſued his march through the foreſt of Saon, and laid ſiege to Mentz; while the elector of Brandenburg, with his own troops, and thoſe of Weſtphalia, inveſted Bonne. Both places were taken: and the French, under the mareſchal d'Humiers, though determined to remain on the defenſive in Flanders, were brought to an engagement by the prince of Waldec, and worſted at Walcourt[a] Nor was Lewis more ſucceſsful in Catalonia, where his troops were driven back to their own frontiers by the duke de Villa Hermoſa; who,

a. Id. Ibid.

PART II.

A. D. 1689. purſuing the marſchal de Noailles, laid Rouſſillon under contribution, and obliged him to abandon Campredon, which he had taken in the beginning of the campaign [3]. The ſame bad fortune that ſeemed to perſecute France, fell with ſtill greater weight upon the Grand Seignior, her ally. The prince of Baden, who commanded for the emperor on the ſide of Hungary, defeated the Turks in three ſucceſſive engagements. He forced their entrenchments on the banks of the Morava, he routed them at Niſſa, and he obtained a complete victory at Widin [4]; ſo that the moſt Chriſtian king, who had expected a great diverſion of the imperial forces by the Infidels, now found himſelf obliged to rely on his own arms.

A. D. 1690. THE enemies of France were ſtill more numerous during the next campaign, but her generals were better choſen. The duke of Savoy having joined the allies, it became neceſſary for Lewis to ſend an army into Italy. This army was committed to the mareſchal de Catinat, who united the fire of a hero to the coolneſs of a philoſopher. Bred to the law, in which he would have excelled, he had quitted that profeſſion in diſguſt, and riſen to the higheſt military rank, by the mere force of merit. He every where ſhewed himſelf ſuperior to his antagoniſt Victor Amadeus, though reputed an able general, and completely defeated him at Staffarada. In conſequence of this victory, Saluces fell into the hands of the French; Suza, which commanded the paſſes between Dauphiné and Piedmont, was taken; and all Savoy, except the fortreſs of Montmelian, was ſoon reduced [5].

3. *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. i. 4. Barre, tom. x. 5. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xv. Hainault, 1699.

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THE ſame ſucceſs attended the arms of France on the frontiers of Spain, where all Catalonia was thrown into confuſion; and Luxembourg, who united the conduct of Turenne to the intuitive genius of Condé, gave a new turn to her affairs in Flanders. Being ſuddenly joined by the mareſchal de Boufflers, he advanced againſt the Dutch and Spaniards, under the prince of Waldec: and an obſtinate battle enſued, at Fleurus, near Charleroy; where, by a bold and deciſive motion of his cavalry, he gained a complete but bloody victory. Covered from the view of the enemy by a riſing ground, the French horſe fell upon the flank of the Dutch, while engaged in front with the infantry. The Dutch cavalry were broken, and fled at the firſt ſhock; but their infantry ſtood firm, and performed ſignal feats of valour. Seven thouſand were killed on the ſpot, before they gave way; and Luxemburg declared, that the Spaniſh infantry did not behave with more gallantry at Rocroy [6]. A.D. 1690.

NOTHING memorable happened during the campaign on the French ſide of Germany. The inaction of the allies in that quarter may partly be aſcribed to the death of the duke of Lorrain. This gallant prince, whoſe high ſpirit induced him to abandon his dominions, and become a ſoldier of fortune, rather than ſubmit to the hard conditions offered him by Lewis XIV. at the peace of Nimeguen, had greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf on many occaſions, and was become a conſummate general. His injuries ſeem always to have been uppermoſt in his mind, except while engaged againſt the Infidels, when religion was predominant. He threatened to enter Lorrain at the head of forty thouſand men before the end of the

6. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xv. Hainault, 1699.

PART II. A. D. 1690.

ſummer; a circumſtance which appears to have given riſe to the report of his having been poiſoned by the emiſſaries of France. His letter to the emperor Leopold, his brother-in-law, written on his death-bed, ſtrongly marks his character. "I am going," ſays he, "to give an account, to a more powerful Maſter, "of a life which I have devoted chiefly to your ſer- "vice. Remember that I leave behind me a wife, "who is nearly related to you; children, who have "no inheritance but my ſword, and ſubjects who are "in oppreſſion [7]!"

THE Turks were no leſs ſucceſsful this campaign than the French. Exaſperated at the loſs of their armies in Hungary and the neighbouring provinces, they had demanded the head of the grand vizier, which was granted them; and the new vizier, being a man of an active diſpoſition, as well as ſkilful in the military art, made great preparations for carrying on the war with vigour. Nor did he neglect the arts of policy. The Vaivode of Tranſilvania being lately dead, he prevailed with the Grand Seignior to declare the famous Tekeli, the chief of the Hungarian malcontents, his ſucceſſor. This revolution, and the ſucceſſes of Tekeli, obliged the prince of Baden, who commanded the imperial army in Hungary, to march into Tranſilvania. During his abſence the Turks took Niſſa, Widin, and even Belgrade; which was carried by aſſault, after a bloody ſiege, in conſequence of the blowing up of the powder magazine. All Upper Hungary, beyond the Tibiſcus, fell into their hands; and they took winter-quarters in that country, with every proſpect of im-

7. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i.

proving

proving their advantages, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit[s].

AMID the misfortunes of the allies during this campaign, we ought not to omit the defeat of the combined fleet of England and Holland, by the French; an event, which in ſpeaking of the affairs of Great Britain, I have already hinted at, but found no opportunity to deſcribe. The ſcene of action lay off Beachy-head; where the fleet of France, under Tourville, was with diffidence attacked by two maritime powers, who had long contended ſingly for the ſovereignty of the ocean. So great, indeed, had the exertions of Lewis been in raiſing his navy, that the allies were inferior to Tourville, both in the ſize and the number of their ſhips; but their ſkill in ſeamanſhip, and the memory of their former exploits, it was hoped would make up for their deficiency in force. It happened, however, otherwiſe.

AFTER the hoſtile fleets had continued five days in ſight of each other, the earl of Torrington, who commanded in chief for the allies, bore down upon the enemy; in conſequence of expreſs orders to hazard a battle, which he had hitherto carefully avoided. The Dutch ſquadron, which formed the van of the combined fleet, was engaged with the van of the French about eight o'clock in the morning; and the blue diviſion of the Engliſh, before nine, attacked the rear of the enemy with great vigour. But the red diviſion, which formed the centre, and which Torrington conducted in perſon, did not come into action, till an hour later; and even then at ſuch a diſtance from the Dutch, as to permit their whole diviſion to

[s] Barre, tom. x. Hoiſs, lib. iii.

be

PART II. A. D. 1690.

be ſurrounded by the French. Though the Dutch fought with great courage, moſt of their ſhips were diſabled; three of the line were ſunk in the engagement, and three burnt in the flight. Beſide many brave ſeamen, two of their admirals, and ſeveral captains were ſlain. The Engliſh, who were in the action, ſuffered extremely. The French ſhips were well manned; their fire was regular and rapid, and their management of the ſails during the action ſkilful and expeditious. Their ignorance of the courſe of the tides, and their purſuing in a line, only could have prevented them from totally breaking the naval force of England and Holland [9]. In this unfortunate battle, the allies loſt eight ſhips of the line, and ſeveral others were rendered utterly unfit for ſervice [10]. But it was attended with no farther conſequences of any importance.

A. D. 1691.

THE progreſs of the French, during the next campaign, was not equal to what might have been expected from their victories in the foregoing; nor was the ſucceſs of the allies anſwerable to their hopes. Though Lewis in perſon took Mons, in the beginning of April, in defiance of king William, who had placed himſelf at the head of the confederate army, the ſummer was ſpent in a ſtate of inactivity, and paſſed without any memorable event on the ſide of Flanders. On the frontiers of Germany the war languiſhed; and although the French were ſucceſsful in Catalonia, they had no reaſon, on the whole, to boaſt of their good fortune. The conqueſts of Catinat in Italy were checked by prince Eugene and the young duke of Schomberg; who repulſed him at Coni, in Piedmont, and obliged him ſoon after to repaſs the

9. Torrington's *Letter to Caermarthen*, July 1, 1690. Kennet. Ralph. Burnet.

10. Ibid.

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Po. Meanwhile the Turks, on the ſide of Hungary, loſt all the advantages which they had acquired, in the preceding campaign. They were totally routed, by the prince of Baden, at Salankeman, with the loſs of twenty thouſand men; and the grand vizier, the ſeraſkier, and moſt of their principal officers being ſlain, the remains of their army found it neceſſary to ſeek ſhelter beyond the Saave [11]. A. D. 1691.

WILLIAM and Lewis, the following ſpring, ſet out on the ſame day to join their reſpective armies, and the higheſt hopes were formed on both ſides. Lewis ſat ſuddenly down before Namur, with an army of forty-five thouſand men; while Luxemburg, with another army, covered the ſiege of that important place, which is ſituated at the conflux of the Sambre and the Maeſe. The town was ſtrong, the citadel was deemed impregnable: the garriſon conſiſted of ten thouſand men, under the prince of Barbaſon; and the famous Coehorn defended in perſon a new fort, which bore his name, while Vauban directed the attack. The eyes of all Europe were turned toward Namur, where two great kings contended for glory and conqueſt. William advanced to the relief of the place, with an army of eighty thouſand men; but the ſtrong poſition of Luxemburg, on the banks of the Mehaigne, which ran between the two armies, and the unexpected rains, which had not only ſwelled the ſtream, but formed into moraſſes the adjoining fields, deterred him from hazarding an engagement. Meanwhile Lewis, having taken the town, preſſed with vigour the ſiege of the new fort; and Coehorn, after an obſtinate defence, was obliged to capitulate. The fate of the citadel was ſoon A. D. 1692.

11. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xv. Hainault, 1691. Barre, tom. x.

after

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after decided, and Lewis returned in triumph to Verſailles [12].

In order to recover that reputation, which he had loſt by not ſuccouring Namur, William endeavoured to ſurpriſe the French army, under Luxemburg, at Steinkirk. The attack was chiefly made by the Britiſh troops, in columns. They preſſed with amazing intrepidity upon the right wing of the enemy, notwithſtanding the diſadvantage of ground; broke their line, took their artillery, and, if properly ſupported, would have gained an undiſputed victory. But William and his Dutch generals not only failed to ſecond the efforts of thoſe brave battalions with freſh troops, but to charge the enemy's left wing, when their right was thrown into diſorder [13]. In conſequence of theſe miſtakes, the battle was totally loſt. The Engliſh, neglected by their allies, and left to ſuſtain alone the whole ſhock of the houſhold troops of France, led by Luxemburg, and encouraged by the preſence of the princes of the blood, were at length obliged to give ground, and almoſt all cut in pieces. Nor was the loſs of the French leſs conſiderable. Partial as the engagement proved, above ten thouſand men fell on both ſides, in the ſpace of two hours; and the veteran Luxemburg declared, that he was never in ſo hot an action [14]. William's military character ſuffered greatly by this battle, and the hatred of the Engliſh againſt the Dutch became violent in the higheſt degree [15]. "Let us ſee what ſport theſe "Engliſh Bull-dogs will make!" was the cool ſar-

12. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xv. Hainault, 1691. Barre tom. x.
13. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i. 14. Id. ibid.
15. Burnet, book v.

caſtical reply of count Solmes, when ordered to advance to the ſupport of the Britiſh troops. LETTER XVIII.

A.D. 1692.

THE allies were leſs unfortunate in other quarters. The French, by exerting their whole force in Flanders, left their own country expoſed. The army under the mareſchal de Catinat, being too weak to reſiſt the duke of Savoy, that prince entered Dauphiné, and ſufficiently revenged himſelf for the inſults which he had received in his own dominions, during the two preceding campaigns. He ravaged the country, he reduced the fortified towns, and ſickneſs only prevented him from acquiring very important conqueſts [16]. Nothing of any conſequence happened on the Rhine, though the French had rather there the advantage. The affairs of the allies went better on the borders of Hungary. Great Waradin, after a long blockade, was taken by the Imperialiſts; and thoſe diſorders, which uſually attend the misfortunes of the Turks, involved the court of Conſtantinople in blood.

ELATED with his paſt ſucceſſes, Lewis XIV. opened the next campaign with great pomp in Flanders. He went thither in perſon, attended by his whole court, and appeared at the head of an army of one hundred and twenty thouſand men. Nothing leſs was expected from ſuch a force than the entire conqueſt of that fine country. But Lewis, influenced by motives which have never yet been ſufficiently explained, ſuddenly diſappointed the hopes of his friends, and quieted the fears of his enemies. He ſent part of his army into Germany, under the Dauphin; and leaving to Luxemburg the conduct of the military A.D. 1693.

16. *Theat. Europe*, 1692. Henault, ſub an.

opera-

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operations in Flanders, returned to Verſailles with his court [17].

THIS unexpected meaſure has been aſcribed to the ſtrong poſition of the allies at Parks, near Louvain, where king William had judiciouſly encamped his army, in order to cover Bruſſels, and by which he is ſuppoſed to have diſconcerted the deſigns of the French monarch. But William, who had only fifty thouſand men, would not have dared, as the duke of Berwick very juſtly obſerves, to wait the approach of ſo ſuperior a force as that under Lewis; or, if he had, he muſt have been overwhelmed; and Bruſſels, Liege, and even Maeſtricht muſt have fallen [18]. This, adds the duke, makes the king's departure, and the diviſion of his army, the more unaccountable. A ſlight indiſpoſition, and the anxiety of Madame de Maintenon (his favourite miſtreſs, who accompanied him) for the health and ſafety of her royal lover, probably ſaved Flanders; though Lewis himſelf, in a letter to the mareſchal de Noailles, aſcribes his ſudden change of meaſures to a deſire of peace, and a conviction that it could only be procured by vigorous exertions in Germany [19].

THE duke of Luxemburg, with the main body of the French army, after having attempted in vain, by a variety of movements, by taking Huy and threatening Liege, to bring the allies to an engagement, reſolved to attack them in their camp, when they were weakened by detachments. He accordingly quitted his poſt at Hellichcim, ſuddenly croſſed the Jaar, and advanced toward them by forced marches.

17. Burnet, book v. Duke of Berwick, vol. i. 18. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i. 19. *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. i.

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His van was in ſight before they were adviſed of his approach; but as it was then almoſt evening, William might have retired in the night with ſafety, had he not depended upon the ſtrength of his poſition and the bravery of his troops. The river Geete bounded his right, and ran winding along his rear. On the left, and in the front of the left was the brook of Landen. A thick hedge covered part of the front of his right wing. The village of Neerwinden, with entrenchments before it, was ſituated between the left end of the hedge and his centre, the right joining the Geete. The village of Romſdorff ſtood farther advanced, oppoſed to the front of the left wing, and the entrenchments before it ſtretched to the brook of Landen. A line of entrenchments extended themſelves behind the two villages, and behind theſe the army of the allies was formed. Their whole front was covered with one hundred pieces of cannon; which, by being advantageouſly placed on an eminence, commanded all the approaches to their line [20].

THE duke of Luxemburg, on the evening of his arrival, diſlodged a detachment of the allies, poſted in the village of Landen, which ſtood advanced before the brook of that name. Between this village and that of Romſdorff he placed forty battalions in the night: he formed his centre of eight lines of horſe and foot intermixed; and his horſe, on the left wing, were ordered to extend themſelves to the Geete, oppoſing their line to the thick hedge which covered the enemy's right. About five in the morning this arrangement was completed: a cannonading took place on both ſides, and the duke of Berwick, with two other lieutenant-generals, Rubantel and Montchevreuil,

20. *Mem. de Feuquiers*, Berwick's *Mem.* ubi ſup.

were

PART II. A.D. 1693.

were ordered to begin the attack; Rubantel, on the entrenchments to the right of Neerwinden, with two brigades; Montchevreuil, on the left, with the ſame number; and the duke of Berwick on the village, with other two brigades. The village projected out beyond the plain; ſo that the duke of Berwick, who was in the centre, attacked firſt. He forced the allies to abandon their poſt: he drove them from hedge to hedge, as far as the plain, at the entrance of which he formed again in order of battle. But the troops deſtined to attack on his right and left, inſtead of following their inſtructions, thought they would be leſs expoſed to the enemy's fire by throwing themſelves into the village; in conſequence of which attempt, they got at once into his rear; and the allies, perceiving this blunder, re-entered Neerwinden by the right and left, now entirely unguarded. A terrible conflict enſued. The four brigades under Rubantel and Montchevreuil were thrown into confuſion, and driven out of the village; and the duke of Berwick, attacked on all ſides, and unſupported, was taken priſoner [21].

LUXEMBURG, however, was not intimidated by this diſaſter. He made a ſecond attempt upon Neerwinden, and ſucceeded. His troops were again expelled, and a third time took poſſeſſion of the village. The battle now raged with fury on both ſides. William twice led the Engliſh infantry up to his entrenchments, which the enemy endeavoured to force; but nothing could reſiſt the impetuoſity of the French. Their centre being reinforced by the right wing, opened a way for their cavalry into the very lines of the allies. They flanked the Engliſh, they broke the German

21. Id. ibid.

and

and Spaniſh horſe; and William, when bravely advancing to the charge, with part of his left wing, had the mortification to ſee his right driven headlong into the Geete. All was now tumult and confuſion. Terror and flight every where prevailed; and beſide thoſe who ſunk in the general ſlaughter, many were drowned in the river. Twelve thouſand of the allies lay dead on the field; two thouſand were made priſoners; and ſixty pieces of cannon, and eight mortars, with about fourſcore ſtandards, and colours, fell into the hands of the French [22]. Yet Luxemburg, after all, gained little but glory by the victory at Neerwinden. Eight thouſand of his beſt troops were ſlain in battle, and his army was ſo much weakened by the number of the wounded, that he could take no advantage of the conſternation of the enemy. During ſix weeks he continued in a ſtate of inaction, and Charleroy was the only conqueſt he afterward made, before the cloſe of the campaign [23]. LETTER XVIII. A. D. 1692.

On the ſide of Germany, the French ſtained the glory of their arms by acts of cruelty and barbarity. Chamilly having taken Heidelberg by ſtorm, put the ſoldiers and citizens promiſcuouſly to the ſword; and when the maſſacre ended, rapine began. The houſes were burnt, the churches pillaged, the inhabitants ſtript naked, and the perſons of the women expoſed to violation, without reſpect to age or condition [24]. This ſhocking tragedy excepted, nothing memorable happened in that quarter. The Germans, ſenſible of their inferiority, ſtudiouſly avoided a battle; and the Dauphin, after croſſing the Necker, and diſperſing a vain manifeſto, containing humiliating terms of

22. Burnet. Ralph. P. Daniel. Duke of Berwick. Hainault. Voltaire. 23. Ibid. 24. Barre. Heiſs. Voltaire.

PART II. A. D. 1693.

peace, returned without laurels to Verſailles [25]. The war in Hungary produced no ſignal event. In Catalonia, the mareſchal de Noailles took Roſes in ſight of the Spaniſh army, and would have acquired more important conqueſts, had he not been obliged to ſend a detachment into Italy [26].

THE military operations, on the ſide of Piedmont, after having languiſhed throughout the ſummer, were terminated by a deciſive action, toward the end of the campaign. The duke of Savoy, at the head of the confederates, had inveſted Pignerol. Meanwhile the mareſchal de Catinat, being reinforced with ten thouſand men, deſcended from the mountains, and ſeemed to threaten Turin. Alarmed for the ſafety of his capital, the duke raiſed the ſiege of Pignerol, and advanced to the ſmall river Ciſola, where it paſſes by Marſaglia. Reſolving to engage Catinat, he ſent away his heavy baggage. The two armies were ſoon in ſight of each other, and the French general did not decline the combat. The imperial and Piedmonteſe cavalry, commanded by the duke in perſon, compoſed the right wing of the confederates; their infantry, conſiſting of the troops of Savoy, and thoſe in the pay of Great Britain, were ſtationed in the centre, under the famous prince Eugene; and the Spaniards, led by their native officers, formed the left wing. The French acted in an unuſual manner. They received, as they advanced, the fire of the Spaniards; then fired, charged them with fixed bayonets, and afterward ſword in hand. The whole left wing of the allied army was inſtantly broken, and thrown in confuſion on the centre, which ſuſtained the battle with great obſtinacy. The centre, however,

25. Ibid.

26. *Mem. de. Noailles*, tom. i.

was at length obliged to give way, and a complete victory remained to the French. Beſide their cannon and light baggage, with a great number of colours and ſtandards, the allies loſt eight thouſand men in the action [27]. Among many perſons of diſtinction, who fell or were taken, the young duke of Schomberg was mortally wounded and made priſoner. LETTER XVIII. A.D. 1693.

Nor were the French leſs ſucceſsful in maritime affairs. Though the ſhock which their navy had ſuſtained off La Hogue, the foregoing ſummer, rendered them unable to face the combined fleet of England and Holland, they made up in diligence what they wanted in force. The Engliſh nation had, with reaſon, complained of the little attention paid to commerce ever ſince the beginning of the war. Though powerful fleets were ſent to ſea, and ſome advantages gained on that element, trade had ſuffered much from the frigates and privateers of the enemy. The merchants, therefore, reſolved to keep their richeſt ſhips in their ſeveral harbours, till a ſufficient convoy could be obtained: and ſo great was the negligence of government, that many of them had been, for eighteen months, ready to ſail [28]! Their number accumulated daily. At length the whole combined fleet was ordered to conduct, as far as might be requiſite, four hundred merchantmen, conſiſting of Engliſh, Dutch, and Hamburghers, bound for the different ports in the Mediterranean, and generally known by the name of the *Smyrna Fleet*. They accordingly put to ſea, and proceeded fifty leagues beyond Uſhant; where they left Sir George Rooke, with a ſquadron of twenty-three ſail, to convoy the traders to the Straits.

27. *Mem. de Feuquieres. Europ. Hiſt.* tom. ii. a l'An. 1693.

28. Burnet, book v.

PART II. A. D. 1693.

MEANWHILE the French fleet, under Tourville, had taken ſtation in the bay of Lagos, and lay in that place till Rooke and the multitude of rich veſſels under his conduct appeared. Deceived by falſe intelligence concerning the ſtrength of the enemy, the Engliſh admiral prepared to engage; but ſuddenly perceiving his miſtake, he ſtood away with an eaſy ſail, ordering the merchantmen to diſperſe and ſhift for themſelves. The French came up with the ſternmoſt ſhips, and took three Dutch men of war. About fourſcore merchantmen were taken or deſtroyed in the different ports of Spain, into which they had run, in order to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy. The object of the voyage was totally defeated, and the loſs in ſhips and cargo amounted to twelve hundred thouſand pounds [29].

BUT Lewis XIV. amid all his victories, had the mortification to ſee his ſubjects languiſhing in miſery and want. France was afflicted with a dreadful famine, partly occaſioned by unfavourable ſeaſons, partly by the war, which had not left hands ſufficient to cultivate the ground; and notwithſtanding all the provident attention of her miniſtry in bringing ſupplies of corn from abroad, in regulating the price and furniſhing the markets, many of the peaſants periſhed of hunger, and the whole kingdom was reduced to poverty and diſtreſs [30].

WILLIAM, appriſed of this diſtreſs, and ſtill thirſting for revenge, rejected all advances toward peace, and haſtened his military preparations. He was accordingly enabled to appear early in Flanders at the

29. Burchet's *Naval Hiſt.* Burnet. Ralph. 30. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xv.

head

head of a great and finely appointed army; but the ſuperior genius of Luxemburg, with an army much inferior, prevented him from gaining any conſiderable advantage. The retaking of Huy was the only conqueſt he made during the campaign. On the Upper Rhine, in Hungary, in Piedmont, no event of any conſequence happened [31]. On the ſide of Spain, the war was carried on with more vigour. The mareſchal de Noailles, having forced the paſſage of the river Ter, in Catalonia, defeated the Spaniſh army entrenched on the farther bank. Gironne and Oſtalric fell ſucceſſively into his hands; and he would have made himſelf maſter of Barcelona, had not admiral Ruſſell, with the combined fleet, arrived in the neighbouring ſeas, and obliged the French fleet to take ſhelter in Toulon [32]. While Tourville and d'Eſtrees were blocked up in that harbour, the French ſea-ports upon the Channel were bombarded, though with no great effect [33].

THE glory and greatneſs of Lewis XIV. were now not only at their height, but verging toward a decline. His reſources were exhauſted: his miniſter Louvois, who knew ſo well how to employ them, was dead; and Luxemburg, the laſt of thoſe great generals, who had made France the terror of Europe, died before the opening of next campaign. Lewis determined, therefore, to act merely on the defenſive in Flanders, where the allies had aſſembled an amazing force. After ſome heſitation, he placed mareſchal de Villeroy at the head of the principal army, and intruſted the ſecond to Boufflers. Namur on the right, and Dunkirk on the left, comprehended be-

31. Daniel. Burnet. Ralph. Duke of Berwick. 32. *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. i. 33. Burnet. Ralph. Burchet. Voltaire.

PART II. A. D. 1695.

tween them the extent of country to be defended by the French. Tournay on the Scheld, and Ypres, near the Lys, formed part of the line. Boufflers was ordered to aſſemble his army near Mons, to cover Namur; and Villeroy poſted himſelf between the Scheld and the Lys, to protect Tournay, Ypres, and Dunkirk [34].

KING WILLIAM, who took the field in the beginning of May, found himſelf at the head of an army much ſuperior to that of France. In order to amuſe the enemy, and conceal his real deſign upon Namur, he made ſome artful movements, which diſtracted the attention of Villeroy, and rendered him uncertain where the ſtorm would firſt fall. At length having completed his preparations, and formed his army into three bodies, he ordered the elector of Bavaria, with one diviſion, to inveſt Namur. He himſelf, at the head of the main body, was encamped behind the Mehaigne, and in a condition to paſs that river, and ſuſtain the ſiege, if neceſſary; while the prince of Vaudemont, with an army of obſervation, lay between the Lys and the Mandel, to cover thoſe places in Flanders which were moſt expoſed [35]. Namur, into which mareſchal Boufflers had thrown himſelf with ſeven regiments of dragoons, in order to reinforce the garriſon, made a vigorous defence: but it was at laſt obliged to ſurrender; and the citadel, which Villeroy attempted in vain to relieve, was alſo taken [36]. Lewis XIV. in order to wipe off this diſgrace, and to retaliate on the confederates for the attacks made by the Engliſh on the coaſt of France, commanded Villeroy to bombard Bruſſels; and the prince of Vau-

34. *Mem. du Feuquieres.*

35. Kane's *Campaigns. Mem. de Feuquieres.*

demont

demont had the mortification to ſee great part of that city laid in ruins, without being able either to prevent or avenge the wanton deſtruction 37. LETTER XVIII. A. D. 1695.

THE military reputation of William, which had ſuffered greatly during the three foregoing campains, was much raiſed by the retaking of Namur. But the allies had little ſucceſs in other quarters No event of any importance happened on the ſide of Italy, on the Upper Rhine, or in Catalonia. On the ſide of Hungary, where peace had been expected by the confederates, the acceſſion of Muſtapha II. to the Ottoman throne, gave a new turn to affairs. Poſſeſſed of more vigour than his predeceſſor, Achmet II. Muſtapha reſolved to command his troops in perſon. He accordingly took the field; paſſed the Danube; ſtormed Lippa; ſeized Itul; and falling ſuddenly on a body of Imperialiſts, under Veterani, he killed that officer, diſperſed his forces, and cloſed with ſucceſs a campaign which promiſed nothing but misfortune to the Turks [38].

The next campaign produced no ſignal event any where. France was exhauſted by her great exertions; and, the king of Spain and the emperor excepted, all parties ſeemed heartily tired of the war. Lewis XIV. by his intrigues, had detached the duke of Savoy from the confederacy: he tampered with the other powers: and a congreſs for a general peace, under the mediation of Charles XI. of Sweden, was at laſt opened, at the caſtle of Ryſwick, between Delft and the Hague. The taking of Barcelona, by the duke of Vendome, induced the king of Spain to liſten to the pro- A. D. 1695.

36. Id. ibid.
37. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i.
38. Barre. Heiſs.

PART II. A. D. 1697.

poſals of France; and the emperor, after reproaching his allies with deſerting him, found it neceſſary to accede to the treaty.

THE conceſſions made by Lewis XIV. were very conſiderable; but the pretenſions of the houſe of Bourbon to the Spaniſh ſucceſſion were left in full force. Though the renunciation of all claim to that ſucceſſion, conformable to the Pyrenean treaty, had been one great object of the war, no mention was made of it in the articles of peace. It was ſtipulated, That the French monarch ſhould acknowlege William to be lawful ſovereign of Great Britain and Ireland, and make no farther attempt to diſturb him in the poſſeſſion of his kingdoms [39]; that the duchy of Luxemburg, the county of Chiney, Charleroy, Mons, Aeth, Coutray, and all places united to France by the chambers of Metz and Briſac, as well as thoſe taken in Catalonia, during the war, ſhould be reſtored to Spain; that Friburg, Briſgaw, and Philipſburg, ſhould be given up to the emperor; and that the duchies of Lorrain and Bar ſhould be rendered back to their native prince [40].

39. Lewis, we are told, diſcovered much reluctance in ſubmitting to this article; and that he might not ſeem altogether to deſert the dethroned monarch, propoſed that his ſon ſhould ſucceed to the crown of England, after the death of William; that William, with little heſitation, agreed to the requeſt; that he even ſolemnly engaged to procure the repeal of the Act of Settlement, and to obtain another act, declaring the pretended prince of Wales his ſucceſſor. But James, it is added, rejected the offer; proteſting That ſhould he himſelf be capable of conſenting to ſuch a diſgraceful propoſal in favour of his ſon, he might juſtly be reproached with departing from his avowed principles, and with ruining monarchy, by rendering elective an hereditary crown. *Depôt des Affaires Etrange à Verſailles.* James II. 1697. Macpherſon, *Hiſt. Brit.* vol. ii. 40. Dumont, *Corp. Diplom.* tom. viii.

SCARCE

LETTER XVIII.

A. D. 1697.

SCARCE had the emperor acceded to the treaty of Ryſwick, which re-eſtabliſhed tranquillity in the North and Weſt of Europe, when he received intelligence of the total defeat of the Turks, by his arms, at Zenta; a ſmall village on the weſtern bank of the Theyſſe, in the kingdom of Hungary. The celebrated prince Eugene of Savoy had ſucceeded the elector of Saxony in the command of the Imperialiſts, and to his conſummate abilities they were indebted for their extraordinary ſucceſs. Muſtapha II. commanded his army in perſon. The battle was of ſhort duration, but uncommonly bloody. About twenty thouſand Turks were left dead on the field; and ten thouſand were drowned in the river, in endeavouring to avoid the fury of the ſword. The magnificent pavilion of the ſultan, the ſtores, ammunition, proviſions, and all the artillery and baggage of the enemy, fell into the hands of prince Eugene. The grand vizier was killed, the ſeal of the Ottoman empire taken, and the Aga of the janizaries, and twenty-ſeven baſhaws, were found among the ſlain [41].

THIS deciſive victory, though followed by no ſtriking conſequences, by reaſon of the declining ſeaſon, broke the ſpirit of the Turks; and the haughty Muſtapha, after attempting in vain, during another campaign, to recover the laurels he had loſt at Zenta, agreed to liſten to propoſals of peace. The plenipotentiaries of the belligerent powers accordingly met at Carlowitz, and ſigned a treaty; in which it was ſtipulated, that all Hungary, on this ſide the Saave, with Tranſylvania and Sclavonia, ſhould be ceded to the houſe of Auſtria; that the Ruſſians ſhould remain in poſſeſ-

41. Barre, *Hiſt. d' Allemagne*, tom. x. *Life of Prince Eugene.*

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PART II. A. D. 1699. Jan. 26.

ſeſſion of Azoph, on the Palus Mæotis, which had been taken by their young ſovereign Peter I. afterward ſtyled the Great; that Camieniec ſhould be reſtored to the Poles; and that the Venetians, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves during the latter years of the war, ſhould be gratified with all the Morea, or ancient Peloponneſus, and with ſeveral places in Dalmatia 42.

THUS, my dear Philip, was general tranquillity again reſtored to Europe. But the ſeeds of future diſcord, as we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to notice, were already ſown in every corner of Chriſtendom. It was but a deluſive calm before a more violent ſtorm. It will however afford us leiſure to carry forward the Progreſs of Society.

42. Dumont. *Corp. Diplom.* tom. viii. Voltaire, *Hiſt. Ruſſia*, vol. i.

LETTER

LETTER XIX.

The Progreſs of SOCIETY *in* EUROPE, *from the middle of the Sixteenth to the End of the Seventeenth Century.*

LETTER XIX.

ABOUT the middle of the ſixteenth century, as we have formerly ſeen[1], Society had attained a very high degree of perfection in Italy. Soon after that æra, the Italian ſtates began to decline, and the other European nations, then comparatively barbarous, to advance toward refinement. Among theſe, the French took the lead: for although the Spaniſh nobility during the reign of Charles V. and thoſe of his immediate ſucceſſors, were perhaps the moſt poliſhed and enlightened ſet of men on this ſide of the Alps, the great body of the nation was, as it ſtill continues, ſunk in ignorance, ſuperſtition, and barbariſm. Beſides, the ſecluded condition of the women, in both Spain and Italy, was an inſuperable bar to true politeneſs. That grand obſtruction to elegance and pleaſure was effectually removed, in the intermediate kingdom, by the gallant Francis I. Anne, of Brittany, wife of Charles VIII. and Lewis XII. had introduced the cuſtom of ladies appearing publicly at the French court: Francis encouraged it; and by familiarizing the intercourſe of the ſexes, in many brilliant aſſemblies and gay circles, threw over the manners of the nation thoſe bewitching graces that have ſo long attracted the admiration of Europe.

BUT this innovation, like moſt others in civil life, was at firſt attended with ſeveral inconveniences. As

1. Part I. Letter lv.

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ſoon as familiarity had worn off that reſpect, approaching to adoration, which had hitherto been paid to the women of rank, the advances of the men became more bold and licentious. No longer afraid of offending, they poured their lawleſs paſſion in the ear of beauty; and female innocence, unaccuſtomed to ſuch ſolicitations, was unable to reſiſt the ſeducing language of love, when breathed from the glowing lips of youth and manhood. Not only frequent intrigues, but a groſs ſenſuality was the conſequence; and the court of France, during half a century, was little better than a common brothel. Catherine of Medicis encouraged this ſenſuality, and employed it as the engine for perfecting her ſyſtem of Machiavelian policy. By the attractions of her fair attendants, ſhe governed the leaders of the Hugonot faction, or by their inſidious careſſes obtained the ſecrets of her enemies, in order to work their ruin; to bring them before a venal tribunal, or take them off by the more dark and common inſtruments of her ambition, poiſon and the ſtiletto. Murders were hatched in the arms of love, and maſſacre planned in the cabinet of pleaſure.

On the acceſſion of Henry IV. and the ceſſation of the religious wars, gallantry began to aſſume a milder form. The reign of ſenſuality continued, but it was a ſenſuality mingled with ſentiment, and connected with heroiſm. Henry himſelf, though habitually licentious, was often in love, and ſometimes fooliſhly intoxicated with that paſſion, but he was always a king and a ſoldier. His courtiers, in like manner, were frequently diſſolute, but never effeminate. The ſame beauty that ſerved to ſolace the warrior after his toils, contributed alſo to inſpire him with new courage. Chivalry ſeemed to revive in the train of liber-

tiniſm; and the ladies acquiring more knowledge and experience, from their more early and frequent intercourſe with our ſex, became more ſparing of their favours. LETTER XIX.

GALLANTRY was formed into a ſyſtem during the reign of Lewis XIII. and love was analyſed with all the nicety of metaphyſics. The faculties of the two ſexes were whetted, and their manners poliſhed, by combating each other. Woman was placed beyond the reach of man, without the help of grates or bars. In the boſom of ſociety, in the circle of amuſement, and even in the cloſet of aſſignation, ſhe ſet him at defiance; and while ſhe liſtened to his fond requeſt, ſhe was deaf to his ſuit, unleſs when preſented under the ſanction of virtue, and recommended by ſentiment.

THIS tender ſentiment, ſo much talked of in France, and ſo little felt, was ſublimed to an enthuſiaſtic paſſion, during the regency of Anne of Auſtria, and the civil wars that diſfigured the beginning of the reign of Lewis XIV. Then all things were conducted by women. The uſual time for deliberations was midnight, and a lady in bed, or on a ſopha, was the ſoul of the council. There ſhe determined to fight, to negociate, to embroil, or accommodate matters with the court; and as love preſided over all thoſe conſultations, ſecret averſions or attachments frequently prepared the way for the greateſt events. A revolution in the heart of a woman of faſhion, almoſt always announced a change in public affairs [2].

THE

2. Every one had her department and her dominion. Madam de Montbazon, fair and ſhrewy, governed the duke of Beaufort; Madame de

PART II.

THE ladies often appeared openly at the head of factions, adorned with the enſigns of their party; viſited the troops, and preſided at councils of war, while their lovers ſpoke as ſeriouſly of an aſſignation, as of the iſſue of a campaign. Hence the celebrated verſes of the philoſophical duke de Rochefoucault to the ducheſs of Longueville:

Pour mériter ſon cœur, pour plaire à ſes beaux yeux,
J'ai fait la guerre aux rois, je l'auroit fait aux dieux!

"To merit that heart, and to pleaſe thoſe bright eyes,
"I made war upon kings, I'd have warr'd 'gainſt the ſkies!'

Every thing connected with gallantry, how inſignificant ſoever in itſelf, was conſidered as a matter of importance. The duke de Bellegard, the declared lover of the queen-regent, in taking leave of her majeſty to take upon him the command of an army, begged as a particular favour that ſhe would touch the hilt of his ſword. And M. de Chatillon, who was enamoured of Mademoiſelle de Guerchi, wore one of her garters tied round his arm in battle [3].

BUT this ſerious gallantry, which Anne of Auſtria had brought with her from Spain, and which was ſo

de Longueville, the duke of Rochefoucault; Madame de Chatillon, Nemours and Condé; Mademoiſelle de Chevreuſe, the Coadjutor, afterward cardinal de Retz; Mademoiſelle de Saujon, devout and tender, the duke of Orleans; and the ducheſs of Bouillon, her huſband. At the ſame time Madame de Chevreuſe, lively and warm, reſigned herſelf to her lovers from taſte, and to politics occaſionally; and the princeſs Palatine, in turns the friend and the enemy of the great Condé, by means of her genius more than her beauty, ſubjected all whom ſhe deſired to pleaſe, or whom ſhe had either a whim or an intereſt to perſuade. *Eſſai ſur le Charactere, les Maurs, et l'Eſprit des Femmes dans les differens Siecles*, par M. Thomas de l'Academie Françoiſe.

3. *Mem. de Mad. Motteville.*

con-

contrary to the genius of the French nation, vaniſhed with the other remains of barbariſm on the approach of the bright days of Lewis XIV. when the glory of France was at its height, and the French language literature, arts, and manners were perfected. Eaſe was aſſociated with elegance, taſte with faſhion, and grace with freedom. Love ſpoke once more the language of nature, while decency drew a veil over ſenſuality. Men and women became reaſonable beings, and the intercourſe between the ſexes a ſchool of urbanity; where a mutual deſire to pleaſe gave ſmoothneſs to the behaviour, and mutual eſteem, delicacy to the mind and ſenſibility to the heart [4].

NOR was the refinement in manners during the reign of Lewis XIV. confined merely to the intercourſe between the ſexes, or to thoſe habits of general politeneſs produced by a more rational ſyſtem of gallantry. Duels, as we have frequently had occaſion to obſerve, were long permitted by the laws of all the European nations, and ſometimes authoriſed by the magiſtrate, for terminating doubtful queſtions. But ſingle combats, in reſentment of private or perſonal injuries, did not become common till the reign of Francis I. who, in vindication of his character as a gentleman, ſent a cartel of defiance to his rival, the emperor Charles V. The example was contagious.

4. That gallantry which, roving from object to object, finds no gratification but in variety, and which characteriſes the preſent French manners, was not introduced till the minority of Lewis XV. "Then," ſays M. Thomas, "a new court and new ideas changed all things. A bolder gallantry became the faſhion. Shame was mutually communicated, and mutually pardoned; and levity joining itſelf to exceſs, formed a corruption at the ſame time deep and frivolous, which laughed at every thing, that it might bluſh at nothing." *Eſſai ſur le Charactere, &c. des Femmes dans les differens Siecles*, p. 190.

Thence-

PART II. Thenceforth every one thought himſelf entitled to draw his ſword, and to call on his adverſary to make reparation for any affront or injury that ſeemed to touch his honour. The introduction of ſuch an opinion among men of fierce courage, lofty ſentiments, and rude manners, was productive of the moſt fatal conſequences. A diſdainful look, a diſreſpectful word, or even a haughty ſtride, was ſufficient to provoke a challenge. And much of the beſt blood in Chriſtendom, in defiance of the laws, was wantonly ſpilt in theſe frivolous conteſts; which, toward the cloſe of the ſixteenth century, were ſcarcely leſs deſtructive than war itſelf. But the practice of duelling, though alike pernicious and abſurd, has been followed by ſome beneficial effects. It has made men more reſpectful in their behaviour to each other, leſs oſtentatious in converſation, and more tender of living characters, but eſpecially of female reputation; and the gentleneſs of manners introduced by this reſtraint, at the ſame time that it has contributed to ſocial happineſs, has rendered duels themſelves leſs frequent, by removing the cauſes of offence.

THE progreſs of arts and literature, in France, kept pace with the progreſs of manners. As early as the reign of Francis I. who is deſervedly ſtyled the *Father of the French Muſes*, a better taſte in compoſition had been introduced. Rabelais and Montaigne, whoſe native humour and good ſenſe will ever make them be ranked among the greateſt writers of their nation, gave a beginning to the French proſe; and French verſe was gradually poliſhed by Marot, Ronſard, and Malherbe, while proſe received new graces from Voiture and Balzac. At length Corneille produced the *Cid* and Paſcal the *Provincial Letters*. The former

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is ſtill deſervedly admired as a great effort of poetical genius, both with regard to ſtyle and matter; and the latter continues to be univerſally regarded as a model of proſe compoſition, as well as of delicate railery and ſound reaſoning.

THE *Obſervations* of the French Academy on the *Cid*, are a ſtriking proof of the rapid progreſs of taſte in modern times, as the *Cinna* of the ſame author is of the early perfection of the French ſtage. Theſe obſervations were made at the deſire of cardinal Richelieu, who had eſtabliſhed, in 1635, that *Academy of Sciences and Belles Lettres*; and, who, not ſatisfied with being reputed what he certainly was, the moſt penetrating ſtateſman in Europe, was alſo ambitious of being thought what he was not, the moſt elegant poet in France. He was more jealous of the fame of Corneille, than of the power of the houſe of Auſtria, and affairs ſtood ſtill while he was concerting the criticiſm on the *Cid*[5].

THAT criticiſm contributed greatly to the improvement of polite literature in France. Corneille was immediately followed by Moliere, Racine, Quinaut, Boileau, La Fontaine, and all the fine writers, who ſhed luſtre over the early part of the reign of Lewis XIV. The language of the tender paſſions, little underſtood even by Corneille, was ſucceſsfully copied by madame de la Fayette in her ingenious novels, and afterward no leſs happily introduced on the ſtage by Racine; eſpecially in his two pathetic tragedies, *Phedra* and *Andromache*. The glaring figures of diſcourſe, the pointed antitheſis, the gingle of words, and every ſpecies of falſe wit and falſe refinement, which prevailed during the former reign,

5. Fontenelle, *Mem. de l'Acad. Franc.*

PART II. were baniſhed with the romantic gallantry that had introduced them: and compoſition, like manners, returned in appearance to the ſimplicity of nature, adorned but not diſguiſed by art. This elegant ſimplicity is more particularly to be found in the tragedies of Racine, the fables of La Fontaine, and the comedies of Moliere, whoſe wonderful talent for ridiculing, whatever is affected or incongruous in behaviour, as well as of expoſing vice and folly, contributed not a little to that happy change which now took place in the manners of the French nation.

THE ſame good taſte extended itſelf to all the fine arts. Several magnificent edifices were raiſed in the moſt correct ſtyle of architecture; ſculpture was perfected by Girardon, of whoſe ſkill the mauſoleum of cardinal Richelieu is a laſting monument; Pouſſin equalled Raphael in ſome branches of painting, while Rubens and Vandyke diſplayed the glories of the Flemiſh ſchool; and Lulli ſet to excellent muſic the ſimple and paſſionate operas of Quinaut. France and the neighbouring provinces, toward the latter part of the ſeventeenth century, were what Italy had been a century before, the favourite abodes of claſſical elegance.

THE progreſs of taſte and politeneſs was leſs rapid in the North of Europe, during the period under review. Germany and the adjoining countries, from the league of Smalkald to the peace of Weſtphalia, were a perpetual ſcene either of religious wars or religious diſputes. But theſe diſputes tended to enlighten the human mind, and thoſe wars to invigorate the human character, as well as to perfect the military ſcience; an advantage in itſelf by no means contemptible, as

that ſcience is not only neceſſary to protect ingenuity againſt force, but intimately connected with ſeveral others conducive to the happineſs of mankind. All the powers of the ſoul were roused, and all the emotions of the heart called forth. Courage ceaſed to be an enthuſiaſtic energy or rapacious impulſe: it became a ſteady effort in vindication of the deareſt intereſts of ſociety. No longer the ſlaves of ſuperſtition, of blind belief, or blind opinion, determined and intelligent men firmly aſſerted their civil and religious rights. And Germany produced conſummate generals, ſound politicians, deep divines, and even acute philoſophers, before ſhe made any advances in the Belles Lettres. The reaſon is obvious.

THE revival of learning in Europe had prepared the minds of men for receiving the doctrines of the Reformation, as ſoon as they were promulgated; and inſtead of being ſtartled when the daring hand of Luther drew aſide, or rather rent the veil that covered eſtabliſhed errors, the genius of the age, which had encouraged the attempt, applauded its ſucceſs. Even before the appearance of Luther, Eraſmus had confuted, with great eloquence and force of reaſoning, ſeveral tenets of the Romiſh church (though it does not appear that he had any intention of overturning the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of religion), and expoſed others, as well as the learning of the ſchools, with much wit and pleaſantry, to all the ſcorn of ridicule. Luther himſelf, though a ſtranger to elegance or taſte in compoſition, zealouſly promoted the ſtudy of ancient literature, as neceſſary to a right underſtanding of the ſcriptures, which he held up as the ſtandard of religious truth. A knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages became common among the reformers: and though in general little capable of reliſhing the beauties of the claſſics, they

PART II. inſenſibly acquired, by peruſing them, a clearneſs of reaſoning and a freedom of thinking, which not only enabled them to triumph over their antagoniſts, but to inveſtigate with accuracy ſeveral moral and political ſubjects.

THESE, inſtead of polite literature, employed the thoughts of thoſe, who were not altogether immerſed in theological controverſy; and the names of Grotius and Puffendorf are ſtill mentioned with reſpect. They delineated, with no ſmall degree of exactneſs, the great outlines of the human character, and the laws of civil ſociety: it was reſerved for later writers, for Smith and Ferguſon, Monteſquieu and Helvetius, to complete the picture. Their principles they derived partly from general reaſoning, and partly from the political ſituation of Europe in that age. In Germany and the United Provinces, Proteſtants and Catholics were every where blended; and the fatal experience of the deſtructive effects of perſecution, not any profound inveſtigation, ſeems firſt to have ſuggeſted the idea of mutual toleration, the moſt important principle eſtabliſhed by the political and controverſial writers of the ſeventeenth century. This ſubject demands particular attention.

IN the preſent age it may ſeem incredible, and more eſpecially in England, where the idea of toleration is become familiar, and where its beneficial effects are felt, that men ſhould ever have been perſecuted for their ſpeculative opinions; or that a method of terminating their differences, ſo agreeable to the mild and charitable ſpirit of Chriſtianity, did not immediately occur to the contending parties. But in order to be able to judge properly of this matter, we muſt tranſport

tranſport ourſelves back to the ſixteenth century, when the ſacred rights of conſcience and of private judgment, obvious as they now appear, were little underſtood; and when not only the idea of toleration, but even the word itſelf in the ſenſe now affixed to it, was unknown among Chriſtians. The cauſe of ſuch ſingularity deſerves to be traced.

AMONG the ancient Heathens, whoſe deities were all local and tutelary, diverſity of ſentiments concerning the object or rites of religious worſhip ſeems to have been no ſource of animoſity; becauſe the acknowledging of veneration to be due to any one God, did not imply a denial of the exiſtence or power of any other God. Nor were the modes and rites of worſhip eſtabliſhed in one country, incompatible with thoſe of other nations. Therefore the errors in their theological ſyſtem were of ſuch a nature as to be conſiſtent with concord; and notwithſtanding the amazing number of their divinities, as well as the infinite variety of their ceremonies, a ſociable and tolerating ſpirit ſubſiſted almoſt univerſally in the Pagan world. But when the preachers of the Goſpel declared ONE Supreme Being to be the ſole object of religious veneration, and preſcribed the form of worſhip moſt acceptable to him, whoſoever admitted the truth of it, conſequently held every other mode of religion to be abſurd and impious. Hence the zeal of the firſt converts to the Chriſtian faith, in propagating its doctrines, and the ardour with which they endeavoured to overturn all other forms of worſhip. That ardour, and not as commonly ſuppoſed, their religious ſyſtem, drew upon them the indignation of the civil power. At length, as formerly obſerved, Chriſtianity aſcended the throne of the Cæſars, and the Croſs was exalted in

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the Capitol [6]. But although numbers, imitating the example of the court (which confined its favours chiefly to the followers of the new religion) crowded into the church, many ſtill adhered to the ancient worſhip. Enraged at ſuch obſtinacy, the miniſters of Jeſus forgot ſo far the nature of their own miſſion, and the means which they ought to have employed for making proſelytes, that they armed the imperial power againſt thoſe unhappy men; and as they could not perſuade, they endeavoured to compel them to believe [7].

In the mean time, controverſies, concerning articles of faith, multiplied among the Chriſtians themſelves; and the ſame compulſive meaſures, the ſame puniſhments, and the ſame threatnings, which had been directed againſt infidels and idolaters, were alſo made uſe of againſt heretics, or thoſe who differed from the eſtabliſhed church in matters of worſhip or doctrine. Every zealous diſputant endeavoured to intereſt the civil magiſtrate in his cauſe, and ſeveral employed, in their turn, the ſecular arm to cruſh or extirpate their opponents [8]. In order to terminate theſe diſſenſions, which every where deſolated the Chriſtian world, as well as to exalt their own conſequence, the biſhops of Rome put in their claim to infallibility in explaining articles of faith, and deciding finally on all points of controverſy: and, bold as the pretenſion was, they ſo far impoſed on the credulity of mankind, as to get it recogniſed. Perhaps a latent ſenſe of the neceſſity of univerſal freedom, or of ſome fixed ſtandard, in matters of religion, might aſſiſt the deceit. But however that may have been, it is certain that the remedy was

6. Part 1. Lett. i. 7. Moſheim, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* vol. i. Robertſon, *Hiſt. Charles V.* book xi. 8. Id ibid.

worſe

worſe than the diſeaſe. If wars and bloodſhed were the too common effects of the diverſity of opinions ariſing from different interpretations of ſcripture, and of hereditary princes ſometimes embracing one opinion, ſometimes another, a total extinction of knowledge and inquiry, and of every noble virtue, was the conſequence of the papal ſupremacy. It was held not only a reſiſting of truth, but an act of rebellion againſt the ſacred authority of that unerring tribunal, to deny any doctrine to which it had given the ſanction of its approbation; and the ſecular power, of which, by various arts, the popes had acquired the abſolute direction in every country, was inſtantly exerted to avenge both crimes. A deſpotiſm more complete was eſtabliſhed than that of the Romiſh dominion, and more debaſing, as we have ſeen, than any ſpecies of civil tyranny. LETTER X.

To this ſpiritual deſpotiſm had Europe been ſubjected for ſeveral centuries, before any one ventured to call in queſtion the authority on which it was founded. Even after the æra of the Reformation, a right to extirpate *error* by *force* was univerſally allowed to be the privilege of thoſe who poſſeſſed the knowledge of TRUTH; and as every ſect of Chriſtians believed that was their peculiar gift, they all claimed and exerciſed, as far as they were able, the prerogatives which it was ſuppoſed to convey. The Roman Catholics, as their ſyſtem reſted on the deciſions of an infallible judge, never doubted but truth was on their ſide, and openly called on the civil power to repel the impious and heretical innovators, who had riſen up againſt it. The Proteſtants, no leſs confident that their doctrine was well founded, required, with equal zeal, the princes of their party, to cruſh ſuch as preſumed to diſcredit or oppoſe it; and Luther,

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Calvin, Cranmer, Knox, the founders of the reformed church in their reſpective countries, inflicted as far as they had power and opportunity, the ſame puniſhments that were denounced againſt their own diſciples by the church of Rome, on ſuch as called in queſtion any article in their ſeveral creeds[9]. Nor was it till toward the cloſe of the ſeventeenth century, when the lights of philoſophy had diſpelled the miſts of prejudice, that toleration was admitted under its preſent form; firſt into the United Provinces, and then into England. For although by the Pacification of Paſſau, and the Receſs of Augſburg, the Lutherans and Catholics were mutually allowed the free exerciſe of their religion in Germany, the followers of Calvin yet remained without any protection from the rigour of the laws denounced againſt heretics. And after the treaty of Munſter, concluded in more liberal times, had put the Calviniſts on the ſame footing with the Lutherans, the former ſanguinary laws ſtill continued in force againſt other ſects. But that treaty, which reſtored peace and tranquillity to the north of Europe, introduced order into the empire, and prepared the way for refinement, proved alſo the means of enlarging the ſentiments of men, by affording them leiſure to cultivate their minds; and Germany, alike free from civil and eccleſiaſtical tyranny, beheld, in proceſs of time, taſte and genius flouriſh in a climate deemed peculiar to lettered induſtry and theological dulneſs, and her fame in arts and ſciences as great as her renown in arms.

EVEN before this æra of public proſperity, the lamp of liberal ſcience had illuminated Germany, on ſubjects the moſt remote from religious controverſy. Co-

9. Robertſon, ubi ſup.

pernicus

pernicus had diſcovered the true theory of the heavens, which was afterward perfected by our immortal Newton; that the ſun, by far the greateſt body, is the centre of our planetary ſyſtem, diſpenſing light and heat, and communicating circular motion to the other planets, Mercury, Venus, the Earth, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, which move around him. And Kepler had aſcertained the true figure of the orbits, and the proportions of the motions of thoſe planets; that each planet moves in an ellipſis, which has one of its foci in the centre of the ſun; that the higher planets not only move in greater circles, but alſo more ſlowly than thoſe that are nearer; ſo that, on a double account, they are longer in performing their revolutions.

Nor was that bold ſpirit of inveſtigation, which the Reformation had rouſed, confined to the countries that had renounced the pope's ſupremacy, and the ſlaviſh doctrines of the Romiſh church. It had reached even Italy; where Galileo, by the invention, or at leaſt the improvement of the teleſcope, confirmed the ſyſtem of Copernicus. He diſcovered the mountains in the moon, a planet attendant on the earth; the ſatellites of Jupiter; the phaſes of Venus; the ſpots in the ſun, and its rotation, or turning on its own axis. But he was not ſuffered to unveil the myſteries of the heavens with impunity. Superſtition took alarm at ſeeing her empire invaded. Galileo was cited before the Inquiſition, committed to priſon, and commanded ſolemnly to abjure his *hereſies* and *abſurdities*; in regard to which, the following decree, an eternal diſgrace to the brighteſt age of literature in modern Italy, was paſſed in 1633. "To ſay that "the ſun is in the centre, and without local motion, "is a propoſition abſurd and falſe in found philo-

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"ſophy, and even heretical, being expreſsly contrary to the Holy Scripture; and to ſay that the earth is not placed in the centre of the univerſe, nor immovable, but that it has ſo much as a diurnal motion, is alſo a propoſition falſe and abſurd in ſound philoſophy, as well as erroneous in the faith!"

THE influence of the Reformation on government and manners, was no leſs conſpicuous than on philoſophy. While the ſovereigns of France and Spain roſe into abſolute power, at the expence of their unhappy ſubjects, the people in every Proteſtant ſtate acquired new privileges. Vice was depreſſed by the regular exertions of law, when the ſanctuaries of the church were aboliſhed, and the clergy themſelves made amenable to puniſhment. This happy influence extended itſelf even to the church of Rome. The deſire of equalling the reformers in thoſe talents which had procured them reſpect; the neceſſity of acquiring the knowledge requiſite for defending their own tenets, or refuting the arguments of their opponents, together with the emulation natural between two rival churches, engaged the popiſh clergy to apply themſelves to the ſtudy of uſeful ſcience; which they cultivated with ſuch aſſiduity and ſucceſs, that they gradually grew as eminent in literature, as they were formerly remarkable for ignorance. And the ſame principle, proceeding from the ſame ſource, hath occaſioned a change no leſs ſalutary in their manners.

VARIOUS cauſes, which I have had occaſion to enumerate in the courſe of my narration, had concurred in producing great licentiouſneſs, and even a total

total diſſolution of manners among the Romiſh eccleſiaſtics. Luther and his adherents began their attacks upon the church with ſuch vehement invectives againſt theſe, that, in order to remove the ſcandal, and ſilence thoſe declamations, more decency of conduct was found neceſſary. And the principal reformers were ſo eminent, not only for the purity but even auſterity of their manners, and had acquired ſuch reputation among the people on that account, that the popiſh clergy muſt have ſoon loſt all credit, if they had not endeavoured to conform, in ſome meaſure, to the ſtandard held up to them. They were beſide ſenſible, that all their actions fell under the ſevere inſpection of the Proteſtants, whom enmity and emulation prompted to obſerve, and to diſplay the ſmalleſt vice or impropriety in their conduct, with all the cruelty of revenge and all the exultation of triumph. Hence they became not only cautious to avoid ſuch irregularities as muſt give offence, but ſtudious to acquire the virtues that might merit praiſe.

Nor has the influence of the Reformation been felt only by the inferior members of the Romiſh church: it has extended to the ſovereign pontiffs themſelves. Violations of decorum, and even treſpaſſes againſt morality, which paſſed without cenſure in thoſe ages, when neither the power of the popes, nor the veneration of the people for their character had any bounds; when there was no hoſtile eye to obſerve the errors in their conduct, nor any adverſary zealous to inveigh againſt them, would now be liable to the ſevereſt animadverſion, and excite general indignation and horror. The popes, aware of this, inſtead of rivalling the courts of temporal princes in gaiety, or ſurpaſſing them in licentiouſneſs, have ſtudied to aſſume manners

PART II. ners more ſuitable to their eccleſiaſtical character; and by their humanity, their love of literature, their moderation, and even their piety, have made ſome atonement to mankind for the crimes of their predeceſſors.

THE Head of the church of Rome, however, not willing to reſt what remained of his ſpiritual empire, merely on the virtues and talents of its ſecular members, inſtituted a new monaſtic order, namely that of the JESUITS; who, inſtead of being confined to the ſilence and ſolitude of the cloiſter, like other monks, were taught to conſider themſelves as formed for action; as choſen ſoldiers who, under the command of a general, were bound to exert themſelves continually in the ſervice of Chriſt, and of the pope, his vicar on earth. To give more vigour and concert to their efforts, in oppoſing the enemies of the Holy See, and in extending its dominion, this General or head of the order was inveſted with the moſt deſpotic authority over its members; and that they might have full leiſure for ſuch ſervice, they were exempted from all monaſtic obſervances. They were required to attend to the tranſactions of the great world, to ſtudy the diſpoſitions of perſons in power, and to cultivate their friendſhip [10].

IN conſequence of theſe primary inſtructions, which infuſed a ſpirit of intrigue into the whole fraternity, the Jeſuits conſidered the education of youth as their peculiar province: they aimed at being ſpiritual guides and confeſſors: they preached frequently, in order to attract the notice of the people; and they ſet out as miſſionaries, with a view to convert unbelieving nations. The novelty of the inſtitution, as well as the ſingularity of its objects, procured the ſociety

10 *Compte Rendeu*, par M. de Monclar. D'Alembert, *ſur la Deſtruct. des Jeſuits.*

many

many admirers and patrons. The Generals and other officers had the addreſs to avail themſelves of every circumſtance in its favour; and, in a ſhort time, the number, as well as the influence of its members, was very conſiderable. Both increaſed wonderfully; and before the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, only ſixty years after the inſtitution of the order, the Jeſuits had obtained the chief direction of the education of youth in every catholic country in Europe. They had become the confeſſors of moſt of its monarchs; a function of no ſmall importance in any reign, but under a weak prince, ſuperior even to that of miniſter. They were the ſpiritual guides of almoſt every perſon eminent for rank or power, and they poſſeſſed the higheſt degree of confidence and intereſt with the papal court, as the moſt zealous and able aſſertors of its dominion. LETTER XIX.

THE advantages which an active and enterpriſing body of prieſts might derive from theſe circumſtances, are obvious. As they formed the minds of men in youth, they retained an aſcendant over them in their more advanced years. They poſſeſſed at different periods, the direction of the moſt conſiderable courts in Europe; they mingled in all public affairs, and took part in every intrigue and revolution. Together with the power, the wealth of the order increaſed. The Jeſuits acquired ample poſſeſſions in every popiſh kingdom; and under pretext of promoting the ſucceſs of their miſſions, and of facilitating the ſupport of their miſſionaries, they obtained a ſpecial licence from the court of Rome, to trade with the nations which they laboured to convert [11]. In conſequence of this per-

11 *Hiſt. des Jeſuits*, tom. iv.

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miſſion, they engaged in an extenſive and lucrative commerce, both in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, and they opened warehouſes in different parts of Europe, where they vended their commodities. Not ſatisfied with trade alone, they imitated the example of other commercial ſocieties, and aimed at obtaining ſettlements. They accordingly acquired poſſeſſion of a large and fertile province in South America, well known by the name of Paraguay, and reigned as ſovereigns over three or four hundred thouſand ſubjects.

UNHAPPILY for mankind, the vaſt influence which the Jeſuits acquired by all theſe different means, was often exerted for the moſt pernicious purpoſes. Every Jeſuit was taught to regard the intereſt of the order as his principal object, to which all other conſiderations were to be ſacrificed; and as it was for the honour and advantage of the ſociety, that its members ſhould poſſeſs an aſcendant over perſons of rank and power, the Jeſuits, in order to acquire and preſerve ſuch aſcendant, were led to propagate a ſyſtem of relaxed and pliant morality, which accommodating itſelf to the paſſions of men, juſtifies their vices, tolerates their imperfections, and authoriſes almoſt every action that the moſt audacious or crafty politician could wiſh to commit [12].

IN like manner, as the proſperity of the order was intimately connected with the preſervation of the papal authority, the Jeſuits, influenced by the ſame principle of *attachment* to the *intereſts* of their *ſociety*, which may ſerve as a key to the genius of their policy, have been the moſt zealous patrons of thoſe doctrines which tend

12. M. de Monclar, ubi ſup.

to

to exalt eccleſiaſtical power on the ruins of civil government. They have attributed to the court of Rome a juriſdiction as extenſive and abſolute as was claimed by the moſt preſumptuous pontiffs during the dark ages: they have contended for the entire independence of eccleſiaſtics of the civil magiſtrate; and they have publiſhed ſuch tenets concerning the duty of oppoſing princes, who were enemies to the catholic faith, as countenance the moſt atrocious crimes, and tend to diſſolve all the ties which connect ſubjects with their rulers[13].

As the order derived both reputation and authority, from the zeal with which it ſtood forth in defence of the Romiſh church, againſt the attacks of the champions of the Reformation, its members, proud of this diſtinction, have conſidered it as their peculiar function to combat the opinions, and to check the progreſs of the Proteſtants. They have made uſe of every art, and employed every weapon againſt the reformed religion: they have ſet themſelves in oppoſition to every gentle or tolerating meaſure in its favour; and they have inceſſantly ſtirred up againſt its followers all the rage of eccleſiaſtical and civil perſecution. But the Jeſuits have at length felt the laſh of that perſecution, which they ſtimulated with ſuch unfeeling rigour; and, as we ſhall afterward have occaſion to ſee, with a ſeverity which humanity muſt lament, notwithſtanding their intolerant ſpirit.

WHILE Paul III. was inſtituting the order of Jeſuits, and Italy exulting in her ſuperiority in arts and letters, England, already ſeparated from the Holy See,

13. Id. ibid.

and,

PART II. and, like Germany, agitated by theological diſputes, was groaning under the civil and religious tyranny of Henry VIII. This prince was a lover of letters, which he cultivated himſelf, and no leſs fond of the ſociety of women than his friend and rival Francis I. but his controverſies with the court of Rome, and the ſanguinary meaſures which he purſued in his domeſtic policy, threw a cloud over the manners and the ſtudies of the nation, which the barbarities of his daughter Mary rendered yet darker, and which was not diſpelled till the middle of the reign of Elizabeth. Then the Muſe, always the firſt in the train of literature, encouraged by the change in the manners, which became more gay, gallant and ſtately, ventured once more to expand her wings; and Chaucer found a ſucceſſor worthy of himſelf, in the celebrated Spenſer.

THE principal work of this poet is named the *Fairy Queen*. It is of the heroic kind, and was intended as a compliment to queen Elizabeth and her courtiers. But inſtead of employing hiſtorical, or traditional characters, for that purpoſe, like Virgil, the moſt refined flatterer, if not the fineſt poet of antiquity, Spenſer makes uſe of allegorical perſonages; a choice which has contributed to conſign to neglect one of the moſt truly poetical compoſitions that genius ever produced, and which, notwithſtanding the want of unity in the fable, and of probability in the incidents, would otherwiſe have continued to command attention. For the deſcriptions in the *Fairy Queen* are generally bold and ſtriking, or ſoft and captivating; the ſhadowy figures are ſtrongly delineated; the language is nervous and elegant, though ſomewhat obſcure, through an affectation of antiquated phraſes; and the verſification is harmonious and flowing. But the thin allegory is every where

ſeen

ſeen through, the images are frequently coarſe, and the extravagant manners of chivalry, which the author has faithfully copied, conſpire to render his romantic fictions little intereſting to the claſſical reader, whatever pleaſure they may afford the antiquary, while an abſurd compound of Heathen and Chriſtian mythology complete the diſguſt of the critic. He throws aſide the poem with indignation, conſidered in its whole extent, after making every allowance for its not being finiſhed, as a performance truly Gothic, but admires particular paſſages: he adores the bewitching fancy of Spenſer, but laments his want of taſte, and loaths his too often filthy and ill-wrought allegories.

SHAKSPEARE, the other luminary of the virgin-reign, and the Father of our Drama, was more happy in his line of compoſition. Though unacquainted, as is generally believed, with the dramatic laws, or with any model worthy of his imitation, he has, by a bold delineation of general nature, and by adopting the ſolemn mythology of the North, witches, fairies, and ghoſts, been able to affect the human mind more ſtrongly than any other poet. By ſtudying only the heart of man, his tragic ſcenes come directly to the heart; and by copying manners, undiſguiſed by faſhion, his comic humour is for ever new. Let us not however conclude that the Three Unities, time, place, and action or plot, dictated by reaſon and Ariſtotle, are unneceſſary to the perfection of a dramatic poem; becauſe Shakſpeare, by the mere ſuperiority of his genius, has been able to pleaſe, both in the cloſet and on the ſtage, without obſerving them

THEATRICAL Repreſentation is *perfect* in proportion as it is *natural*; and that the obſervance of the Unities contributes to render it ſo, will be diſputed by no critic who underſtands the principles on which they

PART II. are founded. A dramatic performance, in which the Unities are obſerved, muſt therefore be beſt calculated for *repreſentation*; and conſequently for obtaining its end, if otherwiſe well conſtructed, by provoking mirth or awakening ſorrow. Even Shakſpeare's ſcenes would have acquired double force, had they proceeded in an unbroken ſucceſſion, from the opening to the cloſe of every act. Then indeed the ſcene may be ſhifted to any diſtance conſiſtent with probability, and any portion of time may elapſe, not deſtructive of the unity of the fable, without impairing the effect of the repreſentation, or diſturbing the dream of reality; for as the modern drama is interrupted four times, which ſeem neceſſary for the relief of the mind, there can be no reaſon for confining the ſcene to the ſame ſpot during the whole piece, or the time exactly to that of the repreſentation, as in the Grecian theatre, where the actors, or at leaſt the chorus, never left the ſtage.

THE reign of James I. was diſtinguiſhed by the labours of many eminent authors, both in proſe and verſe, but moſtly in a bad taſte. That propenſity to falſe wit and ſuperfluous ornament, which we have ſo frequently occaſion to regret in the writings of Shakſpeare, and which ſeems as inſeparably connected with the revival, as ſimplicity is with the origin of letters, infected the whole nation. The pun was common in the pulpit, and the quibble was propagated from the throne. Hooker's *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, however, Camden's *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*, Raleigh's *Hiſtory of the World*, and the tranſlation of the Bible now in uſe, are ſtriking proofs of the improvement of our language, and of the progreſs of Engliſh proſe.

FAIRFAX's tranſlation of Taſſo, and ſome of the tragic ſcenes of Fletcher excepted, the ſtyle of none of the poets of this reign can be mentioned with entire

tire approbation. Johnſon, though born with a vein of genuine humour, though perfectly acquainted with the ancient claſſics, and poſſeſſed of ſufficient taſte to reliſh their beauties, is a rude mechanical writer. And the poems of Drayton, who was endowed with a fertile genius, with great facility of expreſſion, and a happy deſcriptive talent, are thickly beſpangled with all the ſplendid faults in compoſition.

As an example of Drayton's beſt manner, which is little known, I ſhall give an extract from the ſixth book of his *Barons Wars*.

" Now waxing late, and after all theſe things,
" Unto her chamber is the queen withdrawn [13],
" To whom a choice muſician plays and ſings,
" Repoſing her upon a ſtate of lawn,
" In night-attire divinely glittering,
" As the approaching of the chearful dawn;
" Leaning upon the breaſt of Mortimer,
" Whoſe voice more than the muſic pleas'd her ear.

" Where her fair breaſts at liberty are let,
" Where *violet-veins* in *curious branches* flow;
" Where Venus' ſwans and milky doves are ſet
" Upon the ſwelling mounts of *driven ſnow* [14];"

13. Iſabella of France, widow of Edward II. of England.

14. Perhaps the ingenious tracers of *Poetical Imitation* may diſcover a reſemblance between thoſe glowing verſes and two lines in Mr. Hayley's juſtly admired ſonnet, in the *Triumphs of Temper*:

" A boſom, where the *blue meand'ring vein*
" Sheds as ſoft luſtre through the *lucid ſnow*."

And it will not require microſcopic eyes to diſcover whence Mr. Gray caught the idea of the fineſt image in his celebrated hiſtoric Ode, after reading the following lines of Drayton.

" *Berkley*, whoſe fair ſeat hath been famous long,
" Let thy fair *buildings ſhriek* a *deadly ſound*,
" And to the air complain thy grievous wrong,
" *Keeping* the *figure* of king Edward's *wound*."

Barons Wars, book 6.

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" Where Love, whilſt he to ſport himſelf doth get,
" Hath loſt his courſe, nor finds which way to go,
" Incloſed in this labyrinth about,
" Where let him wander ſtill, yet ne'er get out.

" Her looſe gold hair, O gold thou art too baſe!
" Were it not ſin to name thoſe ſilk threads hair,
" Declining as to kiſs her fairer face?
" But no word's fair enough for thing ſo fair.
" O what high wond'rous epithet can grace
" Or give due praiſes to a thing ſo rare?
" But where the pen fails, pencil cannot ſhew it,
" Nor can't be known, unleſs the mind do know it.

" She lays thoſe *fingers* on his manly cheek,
" The gods pure *ſceptres*, and the *darts* of *love!*
" Which with a *touch* might *make* a *tyger meek*,
" Or the main Atlas from his place remove;
" So ſoft, ſo feeling, delicate and ſleek,
" As Nature *wore* the *lilies* for a *glove!*
" As might *beget life* where was never none,
" And *put a ſpirit* into the *ſtinticſt ſtone* [15]!"

DANIEL, the poetical rival of Drayton, affects to write with more purity; yet is he by no means free from the bad taſte of his age, as will appear by a ſingle ſtanza of his *Civil War*, a poem ſeemingly written in emulation of the *Barons Wars*.

" O War! begot in pride and luxury,
" The child of Malice and revengeful Hate;
" Thou *impious-good*, and *good-impiety*,
" Thou art the FOUL-*refiner* of *a ſtate!*

[15] 15. Who can read theſe animated ſtanzas, and not be filled with indignation at the arrogant remark of Warburton?—" Selden did not diſ-" dain even to comment *a very ordinary poet*, one Michael Drayton!" *Pref.* to his edit. of Shakſpeare.

" *Unjuſt*

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" *Unjuſt-juſt* ſcourge of men's iniquity!
" *Sharp eaſer* of corruptions deſperate!
" Is there no means, but that a *ſin-ſick land*
" Muſt be *let blood* by ſuch a boiſterous hand?"

DURING the tranquil part of the reign of Charles I. good taſte began to gain ground. Charles himſelf was an excellent judge of literature, a chaſte writer, and a patron of the liberal arts. Vandyke was careſſed at court, and Inigo Jones was encouraged to plan thoſe public edifices, which do ſo much honour to his memory; while Lawes, and other eminent compoſers in the ſervice of the king, ſet to manly muſic ſome of the fineſt Engliſh verſes. But that ſpirit of fanaticiſm, which ſubverted all law and order, and terminated in the ruin of the church and monarchy, obſtructed the progreſs of letters, and prevented the arts from attaining the height to which they ſeemed faſt haſtening, or the manners from receiving the degree of poliſh, which they muſt ſoon have acquired, in the brilliant aſſemblies and public feſtivals of two perſons of ſuch elegant accompliſhments as the king and queen.

OF the Independents, and other bold fanatics, who roſe on the ruins of the church, and flouriſhed under the Commonwealth, I have formerly had occaſion to ſpeak, in tracing the progreſs of Cromwell's ambition. But one viſionary ſect, by reaſon of its detachment from civil and military affairs, has hitherto eſcaped my notice; namely, the ſingular but reſpectable body of Quakers. The founder of this famous ſect was one George Fox, born at Drayton in Lancaſhire, in 1624, the ſon of a weaver, and bred a ſhoemaker. Being naturally of a melancholy diſpoſition, and having early acquired an enthuſiaſtic turn of mind, he a-

PART II. bandoned his mechanical profeſſion, and broke off all connexions with his friends and family, about the year 1647, when every ignorant fanatic imagined he could invent a new ſyſtem of religion or government; and delivering himſelf wholly up to ſpiritual contemplations, he wandered through the country clothed in a leathern doublet, avoiding all attachments, and frequently paſſed whole days and nights in woods and gloomy caverns, without any other companion but his Bible. At length believing himſelf filled with the ſame divine inſpiration, or *inward light*, which had guided the writers of that ſacred book, he conſidered all external helps as unneceſſary, and thought only of illuminating the breaſts of others, by awakening that *hidden ſpark* of the Divinity which, according to the doctrine of the Myſtics, dwells in the hearts of all men.

PROSELYTES were eaſily gained in thoſe days of general fanaticiſm, to a doctrine ſo flattering to human pride. Fox accordingly ſoon found himſelf ſurrounded by a number of diſciples of both ſexes; who, all conceiving themſelves actuated by a divine impulſe, ran like Bacchanals through the towns and villages, declaiming againſt every fixed form of worſhip, and affronting the clergy in the very exerciſe of their religious functions. Even the women, forgetting the delicacy and decency befitting their character, bore a part in theſe diſorders; and one female convert, more ſhameleſs than her ſiſters, went *ſtark naked* into Whitehall chapel, during the public ſervice, when Cromwell was preſent, being moved by the ſpirit, ſhe ſaid, to appear as *a ſign to the people* [17].

But of all theſe new fanatics, who were ſometimes thrown into priſons, ſometimes into mad-houſes, the

17. Neil's *Hiſt. of the Puritans*.

moſt extravagant was James Naylor, a man of talents, who had been an officer in the parliamentary army, and was one of the firſt encouragers of George Fox. Elated with the ſucceſs of his eloquence, in which he excelled all his brethren, and flattered with a reſemblance between his own features and the common pictures of Jeſus Chriſt, he fancied himſelf transformed into the Saviour of the World. He accordingly aſſumed the character of the Meſſiah, and was blaſphemouſly ſtyled by his followers, the *Prince of Peace*, the *only begotten Son of God*, the *faireſt among ten thouſand*[18]! — Conformable to that character, he pretended to heal the ſick, and raiſe the dead. He was miniſtered unto by women; and in the pride of his heart, he triumphantly entered Briſtol on horſe-back, attended by a croud of his admirers of both ſexes, who, along with ſhrubs and flowers, ſpread their garments before him, exclaiming with a loud voice, "Hoſanna to the Higheſt! holy, holy, holy, Lord "God of Sabaoth[19]!" For this impious proceſſion he was committed to priſon by the magiſtrates, and afterward ſent to London, where he was ſeverely puniſhed by the parliament, and by that means reſtored to the right uſe of his underſtanding. But what, in this romantic inſtance of fanatical extravagance chiefly merits attention is, That the heads of the great council of the nation ſpent between ten and twelve days in deliberating, whether they ſhould conſider Naylor as an impoſtor, as a maniac, or as a man divinely inſpired[20]!

Fox and his diſciples, while under the influence of that enthuſiaſtic fury, which, beſide other irregularities, prompted them, on every occaſion, to deliver

18. Id. ibid.

19. *Life and Trial of Naylor.*

20. Thurloe, vol. iv.

PART II. their ſuppoſed inſpirations, without regard to time, place, or circumſtance, were often ſo copiouſly filled with the ſpirit, that like the prieſteſs of the Delphic God, their whole frame was violently *ſhaken* in pour-ing it out; a circumſtance which contributed to confirm the belief of their being actuated by a divine impulſe, and procured them the name of *Quakers*, by which they are ſtill known. But theſe wild tranſports ſoon ſubſided, and the Quakers became, as at preſent, a decent and orderly ſet of men, diſtinguiſhed only by the civil and religious peculiarities which continue to characterize the ſect. Thoſe peculiarities are of ſufficient importance to merit our notice in tracing the progreſs of ſociety, and delineating the hiſtory of the human mind.

ALL the peculiarities of the Quakers, both ſpiritual and moral, are the immediate conſequences of their fundamental principle; "That they who endeavour "by ſelf-converſe and contemplation to kindle *that* "*ſpark of heavenly wiſdom which lies concealed in the minds* "*of all men*, (and is ſuppoſed to blaze in the breaſt of "every Quaker) will feel a divine glow, behold an "effuſion of light, and hear a cœleſtial voice, pro-"ceeding from the inmoſt receſſes of their ſouls! "leading them to all truth, and aſſuring them of "their union with the Supreme Being[21]." Thus conſecrated in their own imagination, the members of this ſect reject the uſe of prayers, hymns, and the various outward forms of devotion, by which the public worſhip of other Chriſtians is diſtinguiſhed. They neither obſerve feſtivals, uſe external rites and ceremonies, nor ſuffer religion to be fettered with poſitive inſtitutions; contemptuouſly ſlighting even bap-

21. Barclay's *Apology*, &c.

tiſm

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tiſm and the Lord's ſupper, by all other ſects believed to be interwoven with the very vitals of Chriſtianity. They aſſemble however once a week, on the uſual day ſet apart for the celebration of divine worſhip; but without any prieſt, or public teacher. All the members of the community, male and female, have an equal right to ſpeak in their Meetings; for, "Who," ſay they, "will preſume to exclude from "the liberty of exhorting the *brethren*, any perſon in "whom Chriſt dwells, and by whom he ſpeaks?" And the *ſiſters* have often been found more abundantly filled with the ſpirit, and to diſtill it moſt copiouſly; though, on ſome occaſions, both ſexes have been ſo loſt in ſelf-contemplation, or deſtitute of internal ardour, that not a ſingle effuſion has been made. All have remained ſilent, or expreſſed their meaning only in groans, ſighs, and ſorrowful looks. On other occaſions, many have warmly ſpoken at once, as if under the influence of an holy fury.

THE ſame ſpiritual pride, and brotherly ſenſe of equality, which dictated the religious ſyſtem of the Quakers, alſo governs their conduct in regard to civil affairs. Diſdaining to appear uncovered in the preſence of any human being, or to expreſs adulation or reverence by any word or motion, they ſet at naught all the forms of civility, invented by poliſhed nations, and all the ſervile proſtrations demanded by uſurping grandeur, which can have no place among the truly illuminated. In like manner they refuſe to confirm their legal teſtimony with an oath; a ſolemnity which they conſider as an inſult on the integrity of that Spirit of Truth, with which they believe themſelves animated. A ſimple notice is all their homage, and a plain affirmative their ſtrongeſt aſſeveration.

BUT

PART II. BUT two of the moſt ſtriking peculiarities of the Quakers yet remain to be noticed. In conſequence of their fundamental principle, which leads to a total detachment from the ſenſes, to a deteſtation of worldly vanities, and of every object that can divert the mind from internal contemplation, they ſtudiouſly avoid all the garniture of dreſs, even to an unneceſſary button loop, all the pomp of equipage, and all the luxuries of the table. No female ornament, among this ſect, allures the eye, no faſhion or varied colour of attire:—no female accompliſhment, no muſic, no dancing, inciters to ſenſuality!—though now no longer ſo auſtere as formerly; when beauty in its rudeſt ſtate was conſidered as too attractive, and the pleaſure that nature has wiſely connected with the propagation of the ſpecies, the chaſte endearments of conjugal love were regarded with a degree of horror!

THE crowning civil peculiarity of the Quakers is their pacific principle. Unambitious of dominion, and ſhocked at the calamities of war and the diſaſters of hoſtile oppoſition, they carry the mild ſpirit of the goſpel to the dangerous extreme of perſonal *non-reſiſtance*; literally permitting the ſmiter of one cheek to inflict a blow on the other, and tamely yielding to the demands of rapacious violence all that it can crave! How different, in this reſpect, from the Millenarians, and other ſanguinary ſectaries, who ſo long deluged England with blood[22]!

22. Even after the reſtoration of Charles II. a ſmall body of the Millenarians made a deſperate effort to diſturb the government. Ruſhing forth completely armed, under a daring fanatic named Venner, who had often conſpired againſt Cromwell, and exclaiming, "No King but CHRIST!" they triumphantly paraded the ſtreets of London for ſome hours; and before they could be fully maſtered, as they fought not only with courage but concert, many lives were loſt. Burnet, *Hiſt. Own Times*, book ii.

DURING

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DURING, thoſe times of faction and fanaticiſm, however, appeared many men of vaſt abilities. Then the force, and the compaſs of our language, were firſt fully tried in the public papers of the king and parliament, and in the bold eloquence of the ſpeeches of the two parties. Then was rouſed, in political and theological controverſy, the vigorous genius of John Milton, which afterward broke forth with ſo much luſtre in the poem of *Paradiſe Loſt*, unqueſtionably the greateſt effort of human imagination. No poet, ancient or modern, is ſo ſublime in his conceptions as Milton; and few have ever equalled him in boldneſs of deſcription or ſtrength of expreſſion. Yet let us not, in blind idolatry, allow him the honour, which he ſeems to arrogate to himſelf, and which has ſeldom been denied him, of being the inventor of our blank verſe. In the tragedies of Shakſpeare are ſeveral paſſages as harmonious as any in the Paradiſe Loſt, and as elegantly correct: though it muſt be admitted, that Milton invented that variety of pauſes, which renders Engliſh blank verſe peculiarly proper for the heroic fable; where rhyme, how well conſtructed ſoever, is apt to cloy the ear by its monotony, and weaken the vigour of the verſification, by the neceſſity of finding final words of ſimilar ſounds.

THE truth of this remark is fully exemplified in the *Davideis* of Cowley; a work by no means deſtitute of merit, in other reſpects. In favour of the ſmaller poems of this author, which were long much admired for their far-fetched metaphyſical conceits, little can be ſaid; unleſs that they are occaſionally diſtinguiſhed by that vigour of thought and expreſſion peculiar to the troubled times in which he wrote,

thoſe

PART II. thoſe that immediately preceded and followed the death of Charles I. He thus begins an Ode to Liberty:

"FREEDOM with Virtue takes her ſeat:
"Her proper place, her only ſcene,
"Is in the golden mean.
"She lives not with the Poor, nor with the Great:
"The wings of *thoſe* Neceſſity has clipt,
"And they're in Fortune's Bridwell whipt
"To the laborious taſk of bread;
"*Thoſe* are by various tyrants captive led.
"Now wild Ambition, with imperious force,
"Rides, reins, and ſpurs them, like th' unruly horſe;
"And ſervile Avarice yokes them now,
"Like toilſome oxen, to the plow:
"And ſometimes Luſt, like the *miſguiding light*,
"Draws them through all the labyrinths of night."

BUT although the Engliſh tongue, during the civil wars, had acquired all the ſtrength of which it is capable, it ſtill wanted much of that delicacy which characterizes the language of a poliſhed people, and which it has now ſo fully attained. Waller, whoſe taſte had been formed under the firſt Charles, and who wrote during the brighteſt days of the ſecond, is one of the chief refiners of our verſification, as well as language. Of this refinement the following elegant lines, compared with thoſe of any of our preceding poets, will furniſh ſufficient proof. They contain a wiſh of being tranſported to the Bermudas, or *Summer Iſlands*.

"Oh how I long my careleſs limbs to lay
"Under the plantain's ſhade! and all the day
"With amorous airs my fancy entertain,
"Invoke the Muſes, and improve my vein.

"No

" No paſſion there in my free breaſt ſhall move,
" None but the ſweeteſt, beſt of paſſions, love!
" There while I ſing, if gentle Love be by,
" That tunes my lute, and winds the ſtrings ſo high,
" With the ſweet ſound of Sacchariſſa's name
" I'll make the liſtening ſavages grow tame."

WALLER was followed in his poetical walk by Dryden, who united ſweetneſs with energy, and carried Engliſh rhyme in all its varieties to a very high degree of perfection; while Lee, whoſe dramatic talent was great, introduced into blank verſe, that ſolemn pomp of ſound, which was long much affected by our modern tragic poets; and the pathetic Otway (in regard to whom Lee ſeems to ſtand in the ſame relation as Sophocles does to Euripides, or Corneille to Racine) brought tragedy down to the level of domeſtic life, and exemplified that ſimplicity of verſification and expreſſion which is ſo well ſuited to the language of the tender paſſions. But Otway, in other reſpects, is by no means a chaſte writer; nor was the reign of Charles II. though crowded with ſo many men of genius, the æra either of good taſte or elegant manners in England.

CHARLES himſelf was a man of a ſocial temper, of an eaſy addreſs, and a lively and animated converſation. His courtiers partook much of the character of their prince: they were chiefly men of the world, and many of them diſtinguiſhed by their wit, gallantry, and ſpirit. But having all experienced the inſolence of pious tyranny, or been expoſed to the neglect of poverty, they had imbibed, under the preſſure of adverſity, the moſt libertine opinions both in regard to religion and morals. And in greedily enjoying their good

PART II. good fortune, after the Reſtoration, in retaliating ſelfiſhneſs, and contraſting the language and the manners of hypocriſy, they ſhameleſsly violated the laws of decency and decorum. Elated at the return of their ſovereign, the whole royal party diſſolved in thoughtleſs jollity; and even many of the republicans, but eſpecially the younger ſort and the women, were glad to be releaſed from the gloomy auſterity of the commonwealth. A general relaxation of manners took place. Pleaſure became the univerſal object, and love the prevailing taſte. But that love was rather an appetite than a paſſion; and though the ladies ſacrificed freely to it, they were never able to inſpire their paramours either with ſentiment or delicacy.

THE ſame want of delicacy is obſervable in the literary productions of this reign. Even thoſe intended for the ſtage, with very few exceptions, are ſhockingly licentious and indecent, as well as disfigured by extravagance and folly. Nor were the painters more chaſte than the poets. Nymphs bathing, or voluptuouſly repoſing on the verdant ſod, were the common objects of the pencil. Even the female portraits of Sir Peter Leley, naked and languiſhing, are more calculated to provoke looſe deſire, than to impreſs the mind with any idea of the reſpectable qualities of the ladies they were intended to repreſent. It may therefore be ſeriouſly queſtioned, whether the diſſolute, though comparatively poliſhed manners of this once reputed Auguſtan age, were not more hurtful to literature and the liberal arts in England, than the cant and fanaticiſm of the preceding period.

A BETTER taſte in literature, however, began to diſcover itſelf in the latter productions of Dryden; the

the greater part of whoſe Fables, *Abſalom and Achitophel*, *Alexander's Feaſt*, and ſeveral other pieces, written toward the cloſe of the ſeventeenth century, are juſtly conſidered, notwithſtanding ſome negligences, as the moſt maſterly poetical compoſitions in our language. The ſame good taſte extended itſelf to a ſiſter art. Purcell the celebrated author of the *Orpheus Britannicus*, ſet the principal lyric, and the airs in two of the dramatic pieces of Dryden, to muſic worthy of the poetry.

DRYDEN during his latter years alſo greatly excelled in proſe; to which he gave an eaſe and energy, not to be found united in Clarendon or Temple, the two moſt celebrated proſe writers of that age. Clarendon's words are well choſen and happily arranged; but his ſpirit, and even his ſenſe, is frequently loſt in the bewildering length of his periods. The ſtyle of Temple, though eaſy and flowing, wants force. The ſermons, or Chriſtian orations of archbiſhop Tillotſon, have great merit, both in regard to ſtyle and matter. Dryden conſidered Tillotſon as his maſter in proſe-compoſition.

THE ſciences made greater progreſs in England during the courſe of the ſeventeenth century, than polite literature. Early in the reign of James I. Sir Francis Bacon, who is juſtly conſidered, on account of the extent and variety of his talents, as one of the moſt extraordinary men that any nation ever produced, broke through the ſcholaſtic obſcurity of the age, like the ſun from beneath a cloud, and ſhewed mankind the neceſſity of thinking for themſelves, in order to become truly learned. He began with taking a view of the various objects of human knowledge: he divided theſe objects into claſſes; he examined what

was

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was already known, in regard to each of them; and he drew up an immenſe catalogue of what yet remained to be diſcovered. He went even farther: he ſhewed the neceſſity of experimental phyſics, and of reaſoning experimentally on moral ſubjects. If he did not greatly enlarge the bounds of any particular ſcience himſelf, he was no leſs uſefully employed in breaking the fetters of a falſe philoſophy, and conducting the lovers of truth to the proper method of cultivating the whole circle of the ſciences.

THAT liberal ſpirit of inquiry which Bacon had awakened, ſoon communicated itſelf to his countrymen. Harvey, by reaſoning alone, without any mixture of accident, diſcovered the *circulation* of the *blood*; and he had alſo the happineſs of eſtabliſhing this capital diſcovery, during the reign of Charles I. on the moſt ſolid and convincing proofs. Poſterity has added little to the arguments ſuggeſted by his induſtry and ingenuity.

SOON after the Reſtoration, the *Royal Society* was founded; and its members, in a few years, made many important diſcoveries in mathematics and natural philoſophy, in which Wilkins, Wallis, and Boyle, had a great ſhare. Nor were the other branches of ſcience neglected. Hobbes, already diſtinguiſhed by his writings, continued to unfold the principles of policy and morals with a bold but impious freedom. He repreſents man as naturally cruel, unſocial, and unjuſt. His ſyſtem, which was highly admired during the reign of Charles II. as it favours both tyranny and licentiouſneſs, is now deſervedly conſigned to oblivion; but his language and his manner of reaſoning, are ſtill held in eſtimation

SHAFTESBURY, naturally of a benevolent temper, ſhocked with the debaſing principles of Hobbes, and captivated with the generous viſions of Plato, brought to light an enchanting ſyſtem of morals, which every friend to humanity would wiſh to be true. And what is no ſmall matter toward its confirmation, if it has not always obtained the approbation of the *wiſe*, it has ſeldom failed to conciliate the aſſent of the *good*; who are generally willing to believe, that the Divinity has implanted in the human breaſt a ſenſe of right and wrong, independent of religion or cuſtom; and that virtue is naturally as pleaſing to the heart of man, as beauty to his eye.

WHILE Shafteſbury was conceiving that amiable theory of ethics, according to which *beauty* and *good* are united in the natural as well as in the moral world, which embroiders with brighter colours the robe of ſpring, and gives muſic to the autumnal blaſt; which reconciles man to the greateſt calamities, from a conviction that all is ordered for the beſt, at the ſame time that it makes him enjoy with more ſincere ſatisfaction the gifts of fortune and the pleaſures of ſociety, Newton, leaving behind all former aſtronomers, ſurveyed more fully, and eſtabliſhed by demonſtration that *harmonious* ſyſtem of the univerſe, which had been diſcovered by Copernicus; and Locke, no leſs wonderful in his walk, untwiſted the chain of human ideas, and opened a viſta into the myſterious regions of the mind.

THE philoſophy of Newton, all founded on experiment, can never be ſufficiently admired; and it particularly merits the attention of every gentleman, as an inacquaintance with the principle of *gravita-*

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BUT the ſame philoſophy which has unwiſely called in queſtion the divine origin of Chriſtianity, and even the hinge on which it reſts, the immortality of the ſoul; that philoſophy which has endeavoured to cut off from man the hope of heaven, has happily contributed to render his earthly dwelling as comfortable as poſſible. It has turned its reſearches, with an inquiſitive eye, toward every object that can be made ſubſervient to the eaſe, pleaſure, or conveniency of life. Commerce and manufactures, government and police, have equally excited its attention. The arts, both uſeful and ornamental, have every where been diſſeminated over Europe, in conſequence of this new manner of philoſophizing; and have all, unleſs we ſhould perhaps except ſculpture, been carried to a higher degree of perfection than in any former period in the hiſtory of the human race. Even here, however, an evil is diſcerned:—and where may not evils, either real or imaginary, be found? Commerce and the arts are ſuppoſed to have introduced luxury and effeminacy. But a certain degree of luxury is neceſ-

ſary to give activity to a ſtate; and philoſophers have not yet aſcertained where true refinement ends, and effeminacy or vicious luxury begins. LETTER XX. A.D. 1697.

LETTER XX.

A general View of the Affairs of EUROPE, *from the Peace of* RYSWICK *to the Grand Alliance, in* 1701.

AS we approach toward our own times, the materials of hiſtory grow daily more abundant; and conſequently a nicer ſelection becomes neceſſary, in order to preſerve the memory from fatigue. I ſhall, therefore, endeavour to throw into ſhade all unproductive negociations and intrigues, as well as unimportant events, and to comprehend, under one view the general tranſactions of Europe, during the enſuing buſy period. Happily the negociations in regard to the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, and the war in which ſo many of the great powers of the South and Weſt afterward engaged, to prevent the union of the crowns of France and Spain under a prince of the houſe of Bourbon, are highly favourable to this deſign. In like manner, the affairs of the North and the Eaſt are ſimplified, by the long and bloody conteſt between Charles XII. and Peter the Great; ſo that I hope to be able to bring forward, without confuſion, the whole at once to the eye.

THE firſt object, after the peace of Ryſwick, which engaged the general attention of Europe, was the ſettlement of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion. The declining health of Charles II. a prince who had long been in a languiſhing condition, and whoſe death was daily expected, gave new ſpirit to the intrigues of the com-

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petitors for his crown. Theſe competitors were Lewis XIV. the emperor Leopold, and the elector of Bavaria. Lewis and the emperor were in the ſame degree of conſanguinity to Charles, both being grandſons of Philip III. The Dauphin and the emperor's eldeſt ſon Joſeph, king of the Romans, had therefore a double claim, their mothers being two daughters of Philip IV. The right of birth was in the houſe of Bourbon, the king and his ſon the Dauphin being both deſcended from the eldeſt daughters of Spain; but the imperial family aſſerted, in ſupport of their claim, beſide the ſolemn and ratified renunciations of Lewis XIII. and XIV. of all title to the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, the blood of Maximilian, the common parent of both branches of the houſe of Auſtria—the right of male repreſentation. The elector of Bavaria claimed, as the huſband of an archduchеſs, the only ſurviving child of the emperor Leopold, by the infanta Margaret, ſecond daughter of Philip IV. who had declared HER deſcendants the heirs of his crown, in preference to thoſe of his eldeſt daughter, Maria Thereſa; ſo that the ſon of the elector, in default of iſſue by Charles II. was entitled to the whole Spaniſh ſucceſſion, unleſs the teſtament of Philip IV. and the renunciation of Maria Thereſa, on her marriage with the French monarch, were ſet aſide.

BESIDE theſe legal titles to inheritance, the general intereſts of Europe required, that the prince of Bavaria ſhould ſucceed to the Spaniſh monarchy. But his two competitors were obſtinate in their claims: the elector was unable to contend with either of them; and the king of England, though ſufficiently diſpoſed to adopt any meaſure for preſerving the balance of power, was in no condition to begin a new war. From

a laudable, but perhaps too violent jealouſy of liberty, the Engliſh parliament had paſſed a vote, ſoon after the peace of Ryſwick, for reducing the army to ſeven thouſand men, and theſe to be *native* ſubjects[1]; in conſequence of which, when ſupported by a bill, the king, to his great mortification, was obliged to diſmiſs even his Dutch guards. LETTER XX. A. D. 1697.

THUS circumſtanced, William was ready to liſten to any terms calculated to continue the repoſe of Europe. Lewis XIV. though better provided for war, was no leſs peaceably diſpoſed; and ſenſible, that any attempt to treat with the emperor would be ineffectual, he propoſed to the king of England a partition of the Spaniſh dominions, at the ſame time that he ſent the marquis d'Harcourt, as his ambaſſador to the court of Madrid, with a view of procuring the whole. Leopold alſo ſent an ambaſſador into Spain, where intrigues were carried high on both ſides. The body of the Spaniſh nation favoured the lineal ſucceſſion of the houſe of Bourbon; but the queen, who was a German princeſs, and who, by means of her creatures, governed both the king and kingdom, ſupported the pretenſions of the emperor:—and all the grandees, connected with the court, were in the ſame intereſt.

MEANWHILE a treaty of partition was ſigned, through the temporizing policy of William and Lewis, by England, Holland, and France. In this treaty it was ſtipulated, That, on the eventual demiſe of the King of Spain, his dominions ſhould be divided among the competitors for his crown in the following manner. Spain, her American empire, and the ſo- A. D. 1698.

1. *Journals*. Dec. 26, 1697.

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vereignty of the Netherlands, were aſſigned to the electoral prince of Bavaria; to the Dauphin, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, the ports on the Tuſcan ſhore, and the marquiſate of Final, in Italy; and on the ſide of Spain, the province of Guipuſcoa, with all the Spaniſh territories beyond the Pyrenees, or the mountains of Navarre, Alva, and Biſcay. To the archduke Charles, the emperor's ſecond ſon, was allotted the dukedom of Milan [2].

THE contracting powers mutually engaged to keep the treaty of partition a profound ſecret during the life of the king of Spain. But that condition, though neceſſary, was not eaſily to be obſerved. As the avowed deſign of the alliance was the preſervation of the repoſe of Europe, it became neceſſary to communicate the treaty to the emperor, and to gain his conſent to a negociation, which deprived him of the great object of his ambition. This difficult taſk was undertaken by William, from a perſuaſion of his own influence with Leopold. In the mean time intelligence of the treaty was privately conveyed from Holland to Madrid. The Spaniſh miniſtry were filled with indignation, at finding a diviſion of their monarchy made by foreigners, and that even during the life of their ſovereign. The king immediately called an extraordinary council, to deliberate on ſo unprecedented a tranſaction; and the reſult, contrary to all expectation, but perfectly conformable to the laws of ſound policy, was a will of Charles II. conſtituting the electoral prince of Bavaria his ſole heir, agreeable to the teſtament of Philip IV. in favour of the deſcendants of Margaret, his ſecond daughter,

2. De Torcy, vol. i. Voltaire *Siecle*, chap. xvi.

to

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to the utter excluſion of the offſpring of Maria Thereſa, her eldeſt ſiſter, and the whole houſe of Bourbon, alſo excluded by the Pyrenean treaty [3].

THE king of Spain unexpectedly recovered from his illneſs, in ſome degree, and the hopes and fears of Europe were ſuſpended for a time. Meanwhile England and Holland had every reaſon to be pleaſed with the will, which was infinitely more favourable to a general balance of power than the partition treaty; but the ſudden death of the electoral prince of Bavaria, not without ſtrong ſuſpicions of poiſon, revived all their former apprehenſions. Lewis and William again negociated, and a ſecond treaty of partition was privately ſigned, by England, Holland, and France, notwithſtanding the violent remonſtrances of the court of Madrid againſt ſuch a meaſure.

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BY this treaty, which differed materially from the former, it was agreed, that on the eventual deceaſe of Charles II. without iſſue, Spain and her American dominions ſhould deſcend to the archduke Charles, ſecond ſon of the emperor; that Naples, Sicily, the marquiſate of Final, the towns on the Italian ſhore, and the province of Guipuſcoa, ſhould fall to the ſhare of the Dauphin, together with the duchies of Lorrain and Bar, which their native prince was deſired to exchange for the duchy of Milan; and that the county of Binche ſhould remain, as a ſovereignty, to the prince of Vaudemont [4]. In order to prevent the union of Spain and the imperial crown in the perſon of ONE prince, proviſion was made, That in caſe of the death of the king of the Romans, the archduke, if raiſed to

3. Voltaire, ibid.

4. De Torcy, vol. i.

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that dignity, ſhould not ſucceed to the Spaniſh throne. In like manner, it was particularly ſtipulated, That no Dauphin or king of France ſhould ever wear the crown of Spain; and a ſecret article provided againſt the contingency of the emperor's refuſing to accede to the treaty, as well as againſt any difficulties that might ariſe, in regard to the exchange propoſed to the duke of Lorrain [5].

FROM thus providing for the repoſe of the South of Europe, the attention of William was ſuddenly called toward the North, where two of the moſt extraordinary men that ever appeared upon the ſtage of human life, were riſing into notice; Peter I. of Ruſſia, and Charles XII. of Sweden. Peter, whom we ſhall afterward have occaſion to conſider in the character of a legiſlator, had already rendered himſelf formidable by the defeat of the Turks, in 1696, and the taking of Aſoph, which opened to him the dominion of the Black Sea. This acquiſition led to more extenſive views. He reſolved to make Ruſſia the centre of trade between Europe and Aſia: he projected a junction of the Dwina, the Wolga, and the Tanais, by means of canals; and thus to open a paſſage from the Baltic to the Euxine and Caſpian ſeas, and from theſe ſeas to the Northern Ocean [6]. The port of Archangel, frozen up for almoſt nine months in the year, and which cannot be entered without a long, circuitous, and dangerous paſſage, he did not think ſufficiently commodious; he, therefore reſolved, to build a city upon the Baltic Sea, which ſhould be-

5. De Torcy, ubi ſup.

6. Voltaire's *Hiſt. Ruſſ.* tom. i. compoſed from the moſt authentic materials, chiefly furniſhed by the court of Peterſburgh.

ſome

come the magazine of the North, and the capital of his extenſive empire [7].

SEVERAL princes, before this illuſtrious barbarian, diſguſted with the purſuits of ambition, or tired with ſuſtaining the load of public affairs, had renounced their crowns, and taken refuge in the ſhade of indolence, or of philoſophical retirement; but hiſtory affords no example of any ſovereign, who had diveſted himſelf of the royal character, in order to learn the art of governing better: that was a ſtretch of magnanimity reſerved for Peter the Great. Though almoſt deſtitute himſelf of education, he diſcovered, by the natural force of his genius, and a few converſations with ſtrangers, his own rude ſtate and the ſavage condition of his ſubjects. He reſolved to become worthy of the character of a MAN, to ſee men, and to have men to govern. Animated by the noble ambition of acquiring inſtruction, and of carrying back to his people the improvements of other nations, he accordingly quitted his dominions, in 1697, as a private gentleman in the retinue of three ambaſſadors, whom he ſent to different courts of Europe.

As ſoon as Peter arrived at Amſterdam, which was the firſt place that particularly attracted his notice, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of commerce and the mechanical arts; and, in order more completely to acquire the art of ſhip-building, he entered himſelf as a carpenter in one of the principal dock-yards, and laboured and lived, in all reſpects, as the common journeymen. At his leiſure hours he ſtudied natural philoſophy, navigation, fortification, ſurgery, and ſuch other ſciences as may be neceſſary to the ſove-

7. Id. ibid.

reign

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reign of a barbarous people. From Holland he paſſed over to England, where he perfected himſelf in the art of ſhip-building. King William, in order to gain his favour, entertained him with a naval review, made him a preſent of an elegant yacht, and permitted him to engage in his ſervice a number of ingenious artificers. Thus inſtructed, and attended by ſeveral men of ſcience, Peter returned to Ruſſia, after an abſence of near two years, with all the uſeful, and many of the ornamental arts in his train [8].

THE peace of Carlowitz, concluded ſoon after the return of the czar, ſeemed to afford him full leiſure for the proſecution of thoſe plans, which he had formed for the civilization of his ſubjects. But Peter was ambitious of the reputation and the fortune of a conqueror. The art of war was a new art, which it was neceſſary to teach his people; and valuable acquiſitions, he thought, might eaſily be obtained, by joining the kings of Poland and Denmark againſt Charles XII. of Sweden, yet in his minority. Beſide, he wanted a port on the eaſtern ſhore of the Baltic, in order to facilitate the execution of his commercial ſchemes. He therefore reſolved to make himſelf maſter of the province of Ingria, which lies to the north-eaſt of Livonia, and had formerly been in the poſſeſſion of his anceſtors. With this view, he entered into a league againſt Sweden with Frederic Auguſtus, elector of Saxony, who had ſucceeded the famous Sobieſki in the throne of Poland [9]. The war was begun by the king of Denmark; who, contrary to the faith of treaties, invaded the territories of the duke

8. Voltaire, ubi ſup.

9. Voltaire's *Hiſt. Charles XII.* founded entirely on the original information.

of

of Holſtein Gottorp, who had married a ſiſter of Charles XII. LETTER XX.

A. D. 1696.

In theſe ambitious projects the hoſtile princes were encouraged, not only by the youth of the king of Sweden, who had ſucceeded his father, Charles XI. in 1697, when only fifteen years of age, but by the little eſtimation in which he was held by foreign courts. Charles, however, ſuddenly gave the lie to public opinion, by diſcovering the greateſt talents for war, accompanied with the moſt enterprizing and heroic ſpirit. No ſooner did the occaſion call, than his bold genius began to ſhew itſelf. Inſtead of being diſconcerted, when told of the powerful confederacy that was forming againſt him, he ſeemed rather to rejoice at the opportunity which it would afford him of diſplaying his courage. Meanwhile he did not neglect the neceſſary preparations or precautions. He renewed the alliance of Sweden with England and Holland; and he ſent an army into Pomerania, to be ready to ſupport the duke of Holſtein, his brother-in-law [10].

On Holſtein the ſtorm firſt fell. The Danes, led by the duke of Wurtemburg, and encouraged by the preſence of their ſovereign, invaded that duchy; and, after taking ſome inconſiderable places, inveſted Tonningen, while the Ruſſians, Poles, and Saxons, entered Livonia and Ingria. The moment Charles was informed of the invaſion of Holſtein, he reſolved to carry war into the kingdom of Denmark. He accordingly left his capital, never more to return thither, and embarked with his troops at Carlſcroon; having appointed an extraordinary council, choſen A. D. 1700.

10. Ubi ſup. 11. Voltaire, ubi ſup.

from

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from the ſenate, to regulate affairs during his abſence. The Swediſh fleet was joined at the mouth of the Sound, by a combined ſquadron of Engliſh and Dutch men of war; which William, as both king of England and Stadtholder of Holland, had ſent to the aſſiſtance of his ally. The Daniſh fleet, unable to face the enemy, retired under the guns of Copenhagen, which was bombarded; and the king of Denmark, who had failed in his attempt upon Tonningen, was himſelf cooped up in Holſtein, by ſome Swediſh frigates cruiſing on the coaſt.

In this critical ſeaſon, the enterpriſing ſpirit of the young king of Sweden ſuggeſted to him the means of finiſhing the war at a blow. He propoſed to beſiege Copenhagen by land, while the combined fleet blocked it up by ſea. The idea was admired by all his generals, and the neceſſary preparations were made for a deſcent. The king himſelf, impatient to reach the ſhore, leaped into the ſea ſword in hand, where the water roſe above his middle. His example was followed by all his officers and ſoldiers, who quickly put to flight the Daniſh troops that attempted to oppoſe his landing. Charles, who had never before been preſent at a general diſcharge of muſkets loaded with ball, aſked major Stuart, who ſtood near him, what occaſioned the whiſtling which he heard. "It "is the ſound of the bullets," replied the major, "which they fire againſt your majeſty." Very well!" ſaid the king: — "this ſhall henceforth be my "muſic[11]."

The citizens of Copenhagen filled with conſternation, ſent a deputation to Charles, beſeeching him

11. Voltaire, ubi ſup.

not

not to bombard the town. He on horſeback received the deputies at the head of his regiment of guards. They fell on their knees before him; and he granted their requeſt, on their agreeing to pay him four hundred thouſand rix-dollars. In the mean time the king of Denmark was in the moſt perilous ſituation; preſſed by land on one ſide, and confined by ſea on the other. The Swedes were in the heart of his dominions, and his capital and his fleet were both ready to fall into their hands. He could derive no hopes but from negociation and ſubmiſſion. The king of England offered his mediation: the French ambaſſador alſo interpoſed his good offices; and a treaty highly honourable to Charles, was concluded at Travendal, between Denmark, Sweden, and Holſtein, to the excluſion of Ruſſia and Poland [12].

LETTER XX. A.D. 1700.

WHILE William was in this manner ſecuring the peace of foreign nations, the moſt violent diſcontents prevailed in one of his own kingdoms. The Scots, in conſequence of an act of parliament, agreeable to powers granted by the king to his commiſſioner, and confirmed by letters patent under the great ſeal, for eſtabliſhing a company trading to Africa and the Weſt Indies, with very extenſive privileges, and an exemption from all duties for twenty-one years, had planted, in 1698, a colony on the iſthmus of Darien, and founded a ſettlement, to which they gave the name of New Edinburgh. The whole nation built on this project the moſt extravagant ideas of ſucceſs; and, in order to ſupport it they had ſubſcribed the very large ſum of four hundred thouſand pounds ſterling [13]. The ſituation of the ſettlement, it muſt be owned, was well choſen; and, two hundred thouſand pounds of

12. *Hiſt. du Nord*, tom. ii. 13. Burnet, book vi.

the

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the money being raiſed, much might have been reaſonably expected from the perſevering and enterpriſing ſpirit of the people, animated by the hope and the love of gold.

But the promiſe of the future greatneſs of New Edinburgh, the intended capital of New Caledonia, proved its ruin. Its vicinity to Porto Bello and Carthagena, at that time the great marts of the Spaniards in America, and the poſſibility which its ſituation afforded of cutting off all communication between theſe and the port of Panama on the South Sea, whither the treaſures of Peru were annually conveyed, filled the court of Madrid with the moſt alarming apprehenſions. Warm remonſtrances were accordingly preſented, by the Spaniſh ambaſſador at the court of England, on the ſubject. The Engliſh alſo became jealous of the Scottiſh colony. They were apprehenſive that many of their planters, allured by the proſpect of gold mines, with which New Caledonia was ſaid to abound, and the hopes of robbing the Spaniards with impunity, would be induced to abandon their former habitations, and retire thither; that ſhips of all nations, to the great detriment of the Engliſh trade with the Spaniſh main, would reſort to New Edinburgh, which was declared a free port; that the Buccaneers, and lawleſs adventurers of every denomination, would make it their principal rendezvous, as it would afford them an eaſy paſſage to the coaſts of the South Sea, and by that means an opening to all the treaſures of Mexico and Peru [14].

Influenced by theſe conſiderations, and afraid of a rupture with Spain, William ſent ſecret orders

14. Id. ibid.

to

to the governor of Jamaica, and to the governors of all the other Engliſh ſettlements, to hold no communication with the Scottiſh colony; nor, on any pretence whatſoever, to ſupply them with arms, ammunition, or proviſions [15]. Thus deprived of all ſupport in America, and receiving but ſlender ſupplies from Europe, the miſerable remnant of the Scottiſh ſettlers in Darien were obliged to ſurrender to the Spaniards. Never, perhaps, were any people ſo mortified, as the Scots at this diſaſter. Diſappointed in their golden dreams, and beggared by their unfortunate efforts, the whole nation was inflamed with rage and indignation againſt William; whom they accuſed, in the moſt virulent language, of duplicity, ingratitude, and inhumanity. Proper leaders only were wanting to have made them riſe in arms, and throw off his authority. LETTER XX. A D. 1700.

Nor were the people of England in a much better humour. Apprehenſive the ſecond partition treaty might involve them in a new continental war, they loudly exclaimed againſt it, as an impudent invaſion of the rights of nations. And the powers on the continent, in general, ſeemed equally diſſatisfied with that treaty. The German princes, unwilling to be concerned in any alliance which might excite the reſentment of the houſe of Auſtria, were cautious and dilatory in their anſwers: the Italian ſtates, alarmed at the idea of ſeeing France in poſſeſſion of Naples, and other diſtricts in their country, ſhewed an averſion againſt the partition-treaty: the duke of Savoy in hopes of being able to barter his conſent for ſome conſiderable advantage, affected a myſterious neutrality: the Swiſs cantons declined acceding as guarantees;

15. Burnet. ubi ſup.

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rantees; and the emperor expreſſed his aſtoniſhment, that any diſpoſal ſhould be made of the Spaniſh monarchy, without the conſent of the preſent poſſeſſor and the ſtates of the kingdom. He, therefore, refuſed to ſign the treaty, until he ſhould know the ſentiments of his Catholic Majeſty, on a tranſaction in which the intereſts of both were ſo deeply concerned; remarking, That the contracting powers, in attempting to compel him, the *rightful heir*, to accept of a *part* of his *inheritance* by a time limited, were at once guilty of a flagrant violation of the laws of juſtice and decorum [16].

LEOPOLD, in a word, rejected the treaty of partition, becauſe he expected the ſucceſſion to the whole Spaniſh monarchy; and though Lewis XIV. had ſigned it, in order to quiet the jealouſy of his neighbours, and had engaged, along with the Dauphin, not to accept of any will, teſtament, or donation contrary to it, he was not without hopes of ſupplanting the emperor in that rich inheritance. The inclinations of the king of Spain pointed toward the houſe of Auſtria; and, enraged at the projected partition of his dominions, he actually nominated the archduke, Charles, his univerſal heir. But the hearts of the Spaniſh nation were alienated from that houſe, by the arrogance of the queen and her rapacious German favourites, and the court of Vienna took no care to conciliate their affections. On the other hand, the marquis d'Harcourt, the French ambaſſador, by his generoſity, affability, and inſinuating addreſs, contributed greatly to remove the prejudices entertained by the Spaniards againſt his nation, and

16. De Torcy. Burnet. Voltaire.

gained

gained a powerful party to his maſter's intereſt at the court of Madrid [17]. LETTER XX. A. D. 1700.

THE Spaniſh grandees, as a body, were induced to favour the claims of the houſe of Bourbon; but its beſt friends were the clergy. Cardinal Portocarrero, archbiſhop of Toledo, taking advantage of the ſuperſtitious weakneſs of his ſovereign, repreſented to him, that France only could maintain the ſucceſſion entire; that the houſe of Auſtria was feeble and exhauſted, and that any prince of that family muſt owe his chief ſupport to deteſtable heretics. He adviſed his Catholic Majeſty, however, to conſult the Pope on this important ſubject; and Charles, notwithſtanding his ſickneſs, wrote a letter with his own hand, deſiring the opinion of that infallible judge. Of a caſe of conſcience, Innocent XII. made an affair of ſtate. He was ſenſible, that the liberties of Italy in a great meaſure depended upon reſtraining the power of the houſe of Auſtria: he therefore declared, in anſwer to the devout king, That the laws of Spain, and the welfare of all Chriſtendom, required him to give the preference to the family of Bourbon. The opinion of his Holineſs was ſupported by that of the Spaniſh clergy; and Charles, thinking the ſalvation of his ſoul depended on following their advice, ſecretly made a will, in which he annulled the renunciations of Maria Thereſa, and nominated the duke of Anjou, ſecond ſon of the Dauphin, his ſucceſſor in all his dominions [18]. The preference was given to this young prince, in order to prevent any alarm in Europe at the union of two ſuch powerful monarchies, as thoſe of France and Spain; to preſerve the Spaniſh monarchy entire and independent, yet do juſtice to the rights of blood.

17. De Torcy, vol. i. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xi. 18. Id. ibid.

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THOUGH this will of the king of Spain was not made known to any of the rival powers, the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, as the death of Charles II. was hourly expected, engaged the ſolicitude of all. But the attention of William, the grand mover of the European ſyſtem, was called off, before that event took place, to the *ſucceſſion* of England, in conſequence of the ſudden death of the duke of Glouceſter, the only ſurviving child of the princeſs of Denmark, and the laſt male heir in the Proteſtant line. Catholics were excluded from ſucceeding to the Engliſh crown by the former Act of Settlement: it therefore became neceſſary now to proceed to Proteſtant females; and as there remained no probability of William or the princeſs of Denmark having any future iſſue, the

A. D. 1701. eventual ſucceſſion to the crown was ſettled, by act of parliament, on the princeſs Sophia, ducheſs dowager of Hanover, and the heirs general of her body, being Proteſtants [19]. She was grand-daughter of James I. by the princeſs Elizabeth, married to the unfortunate elector Palatine, who was ſtript of his dominions by the emperor Frederic II.

THIS ſettlement of the crown was accompanied with certain limitations, or proviſions for the ſecurity of the rights and liberties of the ſubject, which were ſuppoſed to have been overlooked at the Revolution. The principal of theſe were, That all affairs relative to government, cogniſable by the privy council, ſhould be ſubmitted to it, and that all reſolutions therein taken, ſhould be ſigned by the members who adviſed or conſented to them; that no pardon ſhould be pleadable to any impeachment laid in parliament; that no perſon, who ſhould poſſeſs any office under the

19. *Journals*, April. 14, 1701.

king,

king, or receive a penſion from the crown, ſhould be capable of ſitting in the houſe of commons; that the commiſſions of the judges ſhould be rendered permanent, and their ſalaries be aſcertained and eſtabliſhed; that, in the event of the crown deſcending or being transferred to a foreigner, the Engliſh nation ſhould not be obliged, without the conſent of parliament, to enter into any war, for the defence of territories not depending on the kingdom of England; and that whoſoever ſhould come to the poſſeſſion of the throne, ſhould join in communion with the church of England [20]. LETTER XX A.D. 1701.

WHAT time the Engliſh were thus ſettling the ſucceſſion to their crown, and coolly providing for the ſecurity of their liberties, all the free ſtates on the continent were thrown into alarm, by the death of Charles II. of Spain, and his will in favour of the houſe of Bourbon. Lewis XIV. ſeemed at firſt to heſitate, whether he ſhould accept the will, or adhere to the treaty of Partition. By the latter, France would have received a conſiderable acceſſion of territory, and have had England and Holland for her allies againſt the emperor; by the former, ſhe would have the glory of giving a maſter to her ancient rival, and the proſpect of directing, through him, the Spaniſh councils, at the hazard of having the emperor, England, and Holland for her enemies. This danger was foreſeen; but Lewis could not reſiſt the vanity of placing his grandſon on the throne of Spain. He accepted the will by the advice of his council [21]; and the duke of Anjou, with the univerſal conſent of the Spaniſh nation, was crowned at Madrid, under the name of Philip V.

20. Ibid. 21. De Torcy, tom. i.

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THE French monarch, in order to juſtify his conduct to the king of England and the States-general of the United Provinces, who affected to be highly offended at his breach of faith, very plauſibly urged, That the treaty of Partition was not likely to anſwer the ends for which it had been negociated; that the emperor had refuſed to accede to it; that it was approved by none of the princes to whom it had been communicated; that the people of England and Holland had expreſſed their diſſatisfaction at the proſpect of ſeeing France put in poſſeſſion of Naples and Sicily; that the Spaniards were ſo determined againſt the diviſion of their monarchy, that there would be a neceſſity of conquering them, before the treaty could be executed; that the whole Spaniſh ſucceſſion would have devolved upon the archduke Charles, if France had rejected the will, the ſame courier, who brought it, having orders to proceed immediately to Vienna, with ſuch an offer, in caſe of the refuſal of the court of Verſailles; that the conſervation of the peace of Europe, was what his moſt Chriſtian majeſty conſidered to be the chief object of the contracting parties; and that, true to this principle, he had only departed from the words, that he might the better adhere to the ſpirit of the treaty [22].

THOUGH theſe reaſons were by no means ſatisfactory to William or the States, they cautiouſly concealed their reſentment, as they were not in a condition to ſupport it by any deciſive meaſure. And it has been aſſerted, with ſome appearance of truth, That, if they had permitted Philip V. peacably to enjoy the Spaniſh throne, he would have become, in a few years, as good a Spaniard as any of the preceding

22. Burnet, book vi. De Torcy, tom. i.

Philips,

Philips, and have utterly excluded the influence of French councils from the adminiſtration of his government; whereas the confederacy that was afterward formed againſt him, and the war by which it was followed, threw him wholly into the hands of the French, becauſe their fleets and armies were neceſſary to his defence, and gave France a ſway over the Spaniſh councils, which ſhe has ever ſince retained [23].

It muſt, however, be confeſſed, That, independent of prejudice or paſſion, war was become unavoidable. The ſecuring of commerce and of barriers, the preventing an union of the two powerful monarchies of France and Spain in any future period, and the preſerving, to a certain degree at leaſt, an equilibrium of power, were matters of too much moment to England, Holland, and to Europe in general, to be reſted on the moderation of the French, and the vigour of the Spaniſh councils, under a prince of the houſe of Bourbon, and a grandſon of Lewis XIV. yet in his minority. Aware of this, and conſcious of their own inability to defend their extenſive dominions, the Spaniards reſigned themſelves entirely to the guardianſhip of the French monarch. The Regency commanded the viceroys of the provinces to obey his orders: a French ſquadron anchored in the port of Cadiz; another was ſent to the protection of the Spaniſh ſettlements in America; and, under pretence that the States were making preparations for war, the court of France was impowered to take poſſeſſion of the Dutch barrier in Flanders [24].

23. Bolingbroke, *Sketch of the Hiſt. and State of Europe.* 24. *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. i. Burnet, book vi.

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THE elector of Bavaria, uncle to Philip V. and governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands, introduced on the ſame day, and at the ſame hour, French troops into all the barrier towns in Flanders, and ſeized upon the Dutch forces that were in garriſon, to the number of twenty-two battalions. Overwhelmed with conſternation at this event, eſpecially when they reflected on their own defenceleſs condition, and the facility of an invaſion from France, the States inſtantly agreed to acknowledge the new king of Spain; and the French monarch, on receiving a letter to that purpoſe, ordered their troops to be ſet at liberty [25]. The king of England ſtill continued obſtinate; but having in vain atttempted to draw the parliament, which conſiſted chiefly of Tories, and is ſuppoſed to have been under the influence of French gold, into his hoſtile views, he at laſt found it neceſſary to acknowledge the duke of Anjou as lawful ſovereign of Spain, though Lewis refuſed to give any other ſecurity for the peace of Europe than a renewal of the treaty of Ryſwick [26].

THE emperor now, of all the great powers of Europe, alone continued to diſpute the title of Philip V. Though Leopold pretended a prior right to the whole Spaniſh monarchy, he determined at firſt to confine his views to a part, and fixed upon the duchy of Milan, which he claimed as a fief of the empire. He accordingly iſſued his mandate to the inhabitants, commanding their obedience on pain of being conſidered as rebels. But the prince of Vaudemont, governor of that duchy, had already ſubmitted himſelf to the new king of Spain, conformable to the will of Charles II. A body of French troops, at

25. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i. Burnet, book vi. 26. Id. Ibid.

his

his requiſition, had entered the Milaneſe territory. These were ſoon followed by a powerful army; and the duke of Savoy, whoſe daughter Philip had married, in order to ſtrengthen his intereſt on that ſide, was declared captain-general of the whole. LETTER XX. A. D. 1706.

THE emperor, however, was not diſcouraged by theſe formidable appearances, from purſuing his claim to the duchy of Milan. He ſent an army of thirty thouſand men into Italy, under prince Eugene, who forced the paſſage of the Adige, along which the French troops were poſted; entered their entrenchments at Carpi, and obliged them to cover themſelves behind the Mincio [27]. In conſequence of this advantage, and others by which it was followed, the Imperialiſts became maſters of all the country between the Adige and the Adda: they even penetrated into the territory of Breſciano, and the French found it neceſſary to retire beyond the Oglio [28].

THE mareſchal de Catinat, who was ſecond in command, began to ſuſpect that all the misfortunes of the French, in the field, could not proceed from the ſuperior genius of prince Eugene. He became doubtful of the fidelity of the duke of Savoy, and communicated his ſuſpicions to Lewis XIV. who, not thinking it poſſible that his intereſts could be betrayed by a prince ſo intimately connected with his family, aſcribed theſe ſurmiſes to impatience or private diſguſt, and ſent the mareſchal de Villeroy to ſuperſede Catinat. Anxious to ſignalize himſelf by ſome great action, Villeroy, in concert with the commander in chief, attempted to ſurpriſe the Imperialiſts in their camp at Chiari; but the duke of Savoy hav-

27. *Mem. de Fenquieres.* 28. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xvii.

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ing acquainted prince Eugene of this deſign, and of the diſpoſition of the intended attack, the French were repulſed with great loſs [29].

DURING theſe operations in Italy, the Engliſh and Dutch were engaged in fruitleſs negociations with France; which were continued rather to gain time, in order to make preparations for war, than with any hope of preſerving the peace of Europe. At laſt the departure of the French ambaſſador, D'Avaux, from the Hague, put an end to even the appearance of a negociation; and the ſucceſſes of the emperor, though by no means deciſive, made his cauſe be viewed with a more favourable eye. He had already ſecured the elector of Brandenburg, through the channel of his vanity, by dignifying him with the title of King of Pruſſia. The German princes, in general, were induced to depart from their propoſed neutrality. The king of England, though ſtill thwarted by his parliament, had reſolved upon a war; and the king of Denmark, gained by a ſubſidiary treaty, was ready to aſſiſt him with a body of troops [30].

IN proportion as Leopold obſerved the increaſe of the inclination of the maritime powers for war, he roſe in his demands with reſpect to the terms of the projected alliance. He at one time ſeemed determined to be ſatisfied with nothing leſs than the whole Spaniſh monarchy; but finding William and the States reſolute againſt engaging in ſuch an ambitious project, he moderated his views, and came into their propoſals. They would only undertake to procure for him the Spaniſh dominions in Italy, and to recover Flan-

29. *Mercure, Hiſt. et Politique. Contin.* P. Daniel. Henault, tom. ii.
30. Burnet. Voltaire. Lamberti. De Torcy.

ders,

ders, as a barrier for Holland. Matters being thus adjuſted, the famous treaty, generally known by the name of the GRAND ALLIANCE, was ſigned by the plenipotentiaries of the emperor, the king of England, and the States-general of the United Provinces[31]. The avowed objects of this treaty were, "To procure ſatisfaction to his Imperial Majeſty in "regard to the Spaniſh ſucceſſion; to obtain ſecurity "to the Engliſh and Dutch for their dominions and "commerce; to prevent the union of the two great "monarchies of France and Spain; and to hinder "the French from poſſeſſing the Spaniſh dominions "in America."[32] It was alſo ſtipulated, That the king of England and the States might retain for themſelves, whatever lands and cities they ſhould conquer in both Indies[32]. And the contracting powers agreed to employ two months, in attempting to obtain, by amicable means, the ſatisfaction and ſecurity they demanded.

WHILE this confederacy, which afterward lighted, with ſo much fury, the flames of war in the ſouthern parts of Europe, was forming, the north-eaſt quarter was deeply involved in blood. Charles XII. of Sweden no ſooner raiſed the ſiege of Copenhagen, in conſequence of his treaty with the king of Denmark, in the year 1700, than he turned his arms againſt the Ruſſians, who had undertaken the ſiege of Narva, with eighty thouſand men. Charles, with only eight thouſand men, advanced to the relief of the place; and having carried, without difficulty, all the out-poſts, he reſolved to attack the Ruſſian camp. As ſoon as the artillery had made a breach in the entrenchments, he accordingly ordered an aſſault to be

31. Ibid. 32. Vide *Treaty*, art vi.

made

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made with ſcrewed bayonets, under favour of a ſtorm of ſnow, which the wind drove full in the face of the enemy. The Ruſſians, for a time, ſtood the ſhock with firmneſs; but, after an engagement of three hours, their entrenchments were forced on all ſides, with great ſlaughter, and Charles entered Narva in triumph [33]. About eight thouſand of the enemy were killed in the action; many were drowned in the Narva, by the breaking down of a bridge under the fugitives; near thirty thouſand were made priſoners; and all their magazines, artillery, and baggage, fell into the hands of the Swedes [34]. Charles diſmiſſed all his priſoners, after diſarming them, except the officers, whom he treated with great generoſity.

THE czar was not preſent in this battle. He had imprudently, though perhaps fortunately, left his camp, in order to forward the approach of another army, with which he hoped to ſurround the king of Sweden. When informed of the diſaſter before Narva, he was chagrined, but not diſcouraged. "I "knew that the Swedes would beat us," ſaid he; "but in time, they will teach us to become their "conquerors [35]." Conformable to this opinion, though at the head of forty thouſand men, inſtead of advancing againſt the victor, he evacuated all the provinces he had invaded, and led back his raw troops into his own country; where he employed himſelf in diſciplining them, and in civilizing his people, not doubting but he ſhould one day be able to cruſh his rival.

IN the mean time the king of Sweden, having paſſed the winter at Narva, took the field as ſoon as

33. Voltaire, *Hiſt. of Charles* XII. 34. Id. ibid. 35. Voltaire, *Hiſt. Ruſſia*, vol. i.

the ſeaſon would permit, with all the towering hopes of a youthful conqueror. He entered Livonia, and appeared in the neighbourhood of Riga, which the king of Poland had in vain beſieged the preceding campaign. The Poles and Saxons were poſted along the Duna, which is very broad at that place; and Charles, who lay on the oppoſite ſide of the river, was under the neceſſity of forcing a paſſage. This he effected, although with much difficulty; the Swedes being driven back into the river, after they had formed themſelves upon the land. Their young king rallied them in the water; and leading them to the charge in a more compact body, repulſed mareſchal Stenau, who commanded the Saxons, and advanced into the plain. There a general engagement enſued, and the Swedes gained a complete but bloody victory [36]. The enemy loſt near three thouſand men, with all their artillery and baggage. The loſs of the Swedes was very conſiderable, the duke of Courland having penetrated three times into the heart of the king's guards [37].

LETTER XX. A.D. 1701.

Immediately after this victory, Charles advanced to Mittau, the capital of Courland. That city, and all the towns in the duchy, ſurrendered to him at diſcretion. His expedition thither was rather a journey than a military enterprize. From Courland he paſſed into Lithuania, conquering every thing in his progreſs: and he is ſaid to have felt a particular ſatisfaction, when he entered in triumph the town of Birzen, where Auguſtus, king of Poland, and the czar Peter, had planned his deſtruction but a few months before [38]. It was here that, under the ſtimu-

36. Voltaire, *Hiſt. Charles* XII. Parthenay, *Hiſt. Polog.* tom. i.
37. Id. ibid.
38. Voltaire, ubi ſup.

lating

PART II. A. D. 1701.

lating influence of reſentment, he formed the great project of dethroning Auguſtus, by means of his own ſubjects. That prince had been accuſtomed to govern deſpotically in Saxony; and fondly imagining that he might exerciſe the ſame authority in Poland, as in his hereditary dominions, he loſt the hearts of his new people. The Poles murmured at ſeeing their towns enſlaved by Saxon garriſons, and their frontiers covered with Ruſſian armies. More jealous of their liberty than ambitious of conqueſt, they conſidered the war with Sweden as an artful meaſure of the court, in order to furniſh a pretext for the introduction of foreign troops [39].

CHARLES XII. reſolved to take advantage of theſe diſcontents, and ſucceeded beyond his fondeſt hopes. But in the proſecution of this, and his other ambitious projects, we muſt leave him for a time, in order to contemplate a more important ſcene of action.

39. Parthen. *Hiſt. Polog.* tom. i.

LETTER XXI.

EUROPE from the beginning of the General War, in 1701, to the Offers of Peace made by FRANCE, in 1706, and the UNION of ENGLAND and SCOTLAND.

NOTWITHSTANDING the alliance which the king of England had concluded with the emperor and the States-general, it may be queſtioned whether he could have prevailed upon his people to engage heartily in a new continental war, had it not been for an unforeſeen meaſure, which rouſed their reſentment againſt France. Soon after the ſigning of the Grand Alliance James II. died at St. Germains; and Lewis XIV. in violation of the treaty of Ryſwick, acknowledged the ſon of that unfortunate prince king of Great Britain and Ireland, under the title of James III. LETTER XXI. A. D. 1701. Sept. 16.

WHETHER Lewis was induced to this meaſure by generoſity of ſentiment, or what the French writers term *the elevation and ſenſibility of his great ſoul*; by the tears of the widow of the deceaſed prince, ſeconded by the entreaties of Madame de Maintenon, or by political motives, is a matter of very little conſequence. It is probable, however, that he was partly influenced by political conſiderations; that, believing war to be unavoidable, he hoped, by thus encouraging the Jacobites, to be able to diſturb the Engliſh government; eſpecially as the declining health of William made his death be regarded as no diſtant event, and the party in favour of the direct line of ſucceſſion was ſtill powerful in all the three Britiſh kingdoms. But whatever might be the motive of the French monarch for ſuch a meaſure; whether it

PART II. A.D 1701.

ſprung from weakneſs, generoſity, or ſelfiſhneſs, it hurried him into a war, for which he was very little prepared, and which reduced him, in a few years, from the higheſt pinnacle of grandeur, to the loweſt ſtate of deſpondency. France, exhauſted by her former efforts, had not yet had time to recover new ſtrength; and Spain, languiſhing under every kind of political malady, was only a load upon her ſhoulders. But the ſupply of the precious metals, which ſhe was ſuffered, by the negligence of the maritime powers, to procure from the Spaniſh dominions in America, and particularly from thoſe on the South Sea, enabled her to maintain the conteſt much longer than would have been poſſible for her merely with her own internal reſources [1].

THE marquis de Torcy attempted in vain to apologize to the king of England for the conduct of his maſter: the affront to William was too flagrant to be patiently borne. He inſtantly recalled his ambaſſador from the court of France, and ordered the French envoy to quit his dominions. Nor did the Engliſh parliament, to which William made a ſpeech well ſuited to the occaſion, diſcover leſs reſentment at the inſult offered to their ſovereign, and to themſelves, by the French monarch; in preſuming to declare who ſhould be their king, and in naming a perſon excluded from the ſucceſſion by an act of the whole legiſlature. They paſſed a bill of attainder againſt the pretended prince of Wales, for aſſuming the title of king of England; and alſo a bill to oblige all perſons, holding any office in church or ſtate, to abjure his claim to the crown. They entered warmly into the idea of the war, which was eagerly deſired

A.D. 1702. Jan. 2.

1. Bolingbroke, *Sket. of the Hiſt. and State of Europe.*

by

by the people; voted forty thouſand men for land-ſervice, agreeable to the terms of the Grand Alliance, and an equal number for the navy. And they preſented an addreſs to the throne, requeſting the king to inſert in the treaty an article, which was readily aſſented to by the contracting powers, That no peace ſhould be concluded with France, until reparation was made by the French monarch for the indignity offered to his majeſty and the Engliſh nation, in owning and declaring the pretended prince of Wales king of England [2]. A.D.1702.

WILLIAM, thus ſupported in his favourite ſcheme, by the unanimous voice of his parliament and people, was making vaſt preparations for opening the enſuing campaign, when a fall from his horſe threw him into a fever, which put a period to his life, but not to his bold deſigns [3]. He was a prince of great vigour of mind, firmneſs of temper, and intrepidity of ſpirit; but ungraceful in his perſon and addreſs, diſguſtingly cold in his manner, and dry, ſilent, and ſolitary in his humour. To a happy concurrence of circumſtances, and a ſteady perſeverance in his plans, rather than to any extraordinary talents, either in a civil or military capacity, he owed that high reputation and extenſive influence, which he ſo long enjoyed among the princes of Chriſtendom. He was, however, an able politician, and a good ſoldier, though not a great commander. He has been ſeverely, and juſtly blamed, for thoſe intrigues which he employed to dethrone his uncle and father-in-law. But as William's heart ſeems to have been as dead to the ſympathetic feelings, as his ſoul was inſenſible to the charms of literature and the beauties of the elegant arts, it is poſſi-

2. Burnet, book vi. *Journals*, Jan. 10, 1702. 3. Burnet, ubi. ſup.

ble

PART II. A. D. 1702.

ble that, while guiding the great political ſyſtem, he might be led by the illuſions of ambition, under the appearance of principle, to think the ties of blood, and even the right of inheritance, a neceſſary ſacrifice to the welfare of Europe and the intereſts of the reformed religion. England, at leaſt, was obliged to him for abetting her cauſe, in her grand ſtruggle for liberty and a Proteſtant Succeſſion. But ſhe has dearly paid for thoſe bleſſings, by being involved in waſting foreign wars, partly indeed rendered neceſſary by the ſupineneſs of her two preceding princes, but in which ſhe ought naturally to have had no concern; by the introduction of the infamous practice of corrupting parliaments, in order to engage them to ſupport thoſe wars; and by their unavoidable conſequence, a grievous national debt, which, daily accumulating, and augmenting the weight of government, threatens us with the worſt of evils 4.

THE death of the king of England threw the allies into the utmoſt conſternation, and occaſioned the higheſt joy at the court of France. But that joy was of ſhort duration. The quiet ſucceſſion of Anne,

4. A certain proportion of public debt, by increaſing circulation, and creating a new ſpecies of money, always ready to be employed in any beneficial undertaking, by means of its transferable quality, and yet producing ſome profit, even while it lies idle, is ſuppoſed to be of advantage to a trading people. But what that proportion may be, no politician has hitherto pretended to determine. It is however certain, that the national debt of England has long exceeded, not only all calculations of commercial benefit, but what it was thought, as late as the middle of the preſent century, the kingdom could poſſibly bear; and that the enormous taxes, levied to pay the intereſt of that debt, by enhancing the price of the neceſſaries of life, of labour, and conſequently of every ſpecies of manufacture, have hurt the ſale of our commodities in foreign markets; have ſtrengthened the enſlaving influence of the crown, by increaſing the number of its dependents, if not broke in ſome meaſure the free ſpirit of the people, by multiplying their neceſſities.

princeſs

princeſs of Denmark, eldeſt ſurviving daughter of James II. to the Engliſh throne, conformable to the Act of Settlement, and her early declaration of her reſolution to purſue the objects of the Grand Alliance, revived the ſpirits of the confederates; while the choice of her miniſters, and the vigour of their meaſures, blaſted all the hopes that Lewis and the court of St. Germains had founded on the deceaſe of William. Lord Godolphin was placed at the head of the treaſury; and the earl of Marlborough, whoſe eldeſt daughter was married to Godolphin's ſon, and whoſe wife had acquired an abſolute aſcendant over the queen, was appointed commander in chief of the Engliſh forces in Flanders, and immediately diſpatched to Holland, in the character of ambaſſador extraordinary to the States [5].

LETTER XXI.

A.D. 1702.

THUS connected by family intereſt, as well as political views, theſe two great men conducted with harmony the affairs of England, and even acquired a more decided influence on the continent than had ever been poſſeſſed by William. They not only kept more compact and entire all the parts of that vaſt machine, the Grand Alliance, but communicated a more rapid and vigorous motion to the whole. The earl of Marlborough ſucceeded in every part of his negociation with the States: he animated them to a full exertion of their ſtrength; and gained ſo far on their confidence, that they raiſed him to the chief command of their troops. All the allies engaged, with alacrity, to furniſh their ſeveral quotas; and war was declared againſt France, on the ſame day, at London, the Hague, and Vienna [6].

5. Burnet, book vii. 6. Id. ibid.

PART II. A.D. 1702.

THE firſt campaign, however, was not diſtinguiſhed by any great event. In Italy, the Imperialiſts, under prince Eugene, being outnumbered by the combined armies of France and Spain, gained no advantage. There Philip V. (having left the government of his new kingdom in the hands of the queen, aſſiſted by a council, and paſſed into Naples) nominally commanded in perſon[7]; and but nominally, all the operations being really directed by the duke de Vendome. His preſence, however, inſpired confidence into his troops: and prince Eugene was not only forced to raiſe the blockade of Mantua, but in ſome degree worſted, in an attempt to ſurpriſe Vendome near Luazzra[8].

THE Imperialiſts were not more ſucceſsful on the Upper Rhine; where the prince of Baden, though elated with the taking of Landau, was defeated at Fridlengen, by the marquis de Villars, immediately after created a mareſchal of France. "I have heard," ſays Voltaire, "mareſchal Villars declare more than "once, that as he was marching at the head of his in- "fantry, after the battle was gained, a voice called, "*We are undone!* On hearing this, all his troops fled. "He ran after them, crying, *Come back, my friends! "the victory is ours. Long live the king!* The trembling "ſoldiers repeated, *Long live the king!* but continued "to fly: and the marquis found the utmoſt difficulty "in rallying the conquerors[9]." On ſuch trivial cir-

7. The parting of Philip and his young queen, himſelf as young, was preceded by many ſtruggles of tenderneſs. One day, while both were bathed in tears, this amiable and accompliſhed princeſs hearing ſome of the courtiers aſk the king, if he ſhould paſs the night with her, all her ſenſibility was rouſed, her preſence of mind forſook her, and ſhe paſſionately exclaimed "Oh, my God! of the ſhort time that remains to us, would they cut off even the nights?" *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. ii.

8. Hainault, 1702. 9. *Siecle*, chap. xvii.

cumſtances often depend the iſſue of the greateſt battles. Had a ſingle regiment of Imperialiſts appeared during this panic, the French, ſo lately victorious, would have been totally routed.

THE houſe of Bourbon was leſs fortunate on the ſide of Flanders. The allies began the campaign with the ſiege of Keyſerſwaert, which the elector of Cologne had placed in the hands of the French, and which ſurrendered after a ſiege of two months. The duke of Burgundy, who commanded the French army, having under him mareſchal Boufflers, it was expected would either have attempted the relief of that important place, or have inveſted ſome other; but, by a ſtrange piece of miſconduct, he lay almoſt totally inactive during the whole ſiege, and till the earl of Marlborough arrived to take the command of the allied army [10]. Marlborough, who was no leſs prudent than active, and who may be ſaid to have united the enterpriſing ſpirit of the hero to the caution and foreſight of the conſummate general, reſolved immediately to attack the duke of Burgundy: and had he not been reſtrained by the timidity of the field-deputies of the States, he would have gained a complete victory over the French [11]. Though thus confined in his operations, the Engliſh commander contrived by maſterly movements, by marches and counter-marches, to throw himſelf between the enemy and the principal towns of Spaniſh Guelderland; where he reduced ſucceſſively, and without moleſtation, Venlo, Ruremonde, and Liege; conqueſts of the

10. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i. 11. Burnet, book vii. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* tom. i. "We were poſted in ſuch a manner," ſays the duke of Berwick, "that we ſhould have been beaten without "being able to ſtir: our left being very high, and our right ſunk into "a cul-de-ſac between two rivulets." *Mem.* ubi ſup.

PART II. A.D. 1702.

greateſt importance, as by the acquiſition of them the navigation of the Maeſe was opened, and a free communication with Maeſtricht [12].

THE operations at ſea were even more favourable to the allies, than thoſe by land; though not in all reſpects equal to their hopes. The confederate fleet, under Sir George Rooke, conſiſting of fifty Engliſh and Dutch ſhips of the line, with twelve thouſand troops on board, commanded by the duke of Ormond, appeared before Cadiz, and ſummoned that city to ſurrender to the houſe of Auſtria, or run the hazard of an attack from ſuch a formidable armament. But the governor paid no regard to this threat. The place was much ſtronger than the beſiegers expected; ſo that the duke of Ormond found it neceſſary to re-embark his troops after they had taken fort St. Catherine, made an unſucceſsful attempt on fort Matagorda, and pillaged port St. Mary, contrary to his expreſs orders. His next attempt was more fortunate.

THE confederates, after leaving Cadiz, ſailed for Vigo, where the galleons, under convoy of twenty-three French ſhips of war, commanded by the count de Chateau-Renaud, were juſt arrived from America. As the wealth on board theſe galleons was conſidered as the chief reſource of the Spaniſh monarchy, and even of the whole houſe of Bourbon, Lewis XIV. expecting to ſhare in it, the utmoſt precaution had been taken to ſecure them [13]. They were carried up into a baſon, through a narrow entrance, one ſide of which was defended by a fort, the other by platforms mounted with cannon. A boom was thrown acroſs the mouth of the baſon, and within the boom

12. Id. ibid. 13. *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. ii.

the

the French ſquadron was drawn up. But all theſe obſtacles were not ſufficient to diſcourage the confederates, when animated by the hopes of ſo rich a booty. The duke of Ormond having landed part of his troops, took the caſtle: the boom was broken by the fleet; and the French admiral perceiving, that all farther reſiſtance would be vain, ſet fire to his ſhips. The galleons followed the deſperate example; but the Engliſh and Dutch were at hand, to extinguiſh the flames. Six ſhips of war were taken, ſeven ſunk, and nine burnt. Of thirteen galleons, nine fell into the hands of the conquerors, and four were deſtroyed; and although the greater part of the treaſure had been landed, and carried to Lago, the booty was immenſe, and the conſternation of the houſe of Bourbon exceſſive [14].

BEFORE intelligence of this important blow arrived in England, both houſes of parliament had congratulated her majeſty on the ſucceſs of her arms, under the earl of Marlborough, who was ſoon after created a duke, and liberal ſupplies were voted for carrying on the war. The good humour of the parliament was increaſed, by the news of the deſtruction of the enemy's fleet at Vigo: the hopes of the nation ran high; the moſt vigorous preparations were made, and the affairs of the allies every where wore a very favourable aſpect. The duke of Savoy, who

14. Id. ibid. Burnet, book vii. *Lives of the Admirals*, vol. iii. Lewis XIV. who combined, with the moſt inſatiable and bloody ambition, a ſtrange mixture of piety and reſignation, writes thus in a conſolatory letter to the queen of Spain, then at the head of the government: —"Events are in the hands of God, who often draws good out of what "we conſider as our greateſt misfortunes. If it is poſſible to prevent the "bad effects of that diſaſter which has happened, your majeſty has pre"vented them." *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. ii.

PART II. had been long wavering, openly deſerted the intereſts of France and Spain, and concluded a treaty with
A. D. 1703. Jan. 5. the emperor, to the aſtoniſhment of the houſe of Bourbon; he being not only a grandſon of Lewis XIII. but father-in-law to the duke of Burgundy, and Philip V. From motives of intereſt, Peter VI. king of Portugal, alſo united himſelf to the confederates [15].

To the defection of thoſe two princes, the French aſcribed their ſubſequent misfortunes in the war. Lewis XIV. however, made great preparations for opening the next campaign, and was by no means wanting in ſucceſs. Meantime the elector of Bavaria, the firm ally of France, carried on hoſtilities with vigour in the heart of Germany. He took Neuburg, on the Danube, early in the ſeaſon: he defeated the Imperialiſts at Paſſau; and having taken Burglenfield
April 12. and Ratiſbon, was joined at Dutlingen by mareſchal Villars. Afterward diſappointed in an attempt to enter Tyrol, and open a communication with the French army in Italy, he rejoined Villars in Suabia. They croſſed the Danube; and Villars underſtanding that the count de Styrum, at the head of twenty thouſand men, was on his march to join the formidable army of the prince of Baden, near Donawert, ſaid to the elector, "We muſt prevent this: we muſt advance, and attack Styrum." The elector heſitated, and ſaid he would conſult with his miniſters and generals. "I am your miniſter and general!" replied Villars:—"Can you want any other counſel "than mine, when the queſtion is about giving battle?"—Full of apprehenſions for his dominions, the elector was ſtill averſe from the mareſchal's propoſal, and not a little diſpleaſed at his freedom.

15. Burnet. Voltaire.

"Well!"

"Well!" ſaid Villars, "if your highneſs will not "ſeize this opportunity with your Bavarians, I will "engage with the French only:—it muſt not be loſt." A. D. 1703. He accordingly ordered his troops to march; and the elector, though filled with indignation, found himſelf under the neceſſity of fighting againſt his judgment [16]. They attacked the enemy in the plains of Hochſtet, and gained a complete victory. Three Sept. 20. thouſand of the Imperialiſts were killed; four thouſand were made priſoners; and all their artillery and baggage fell into the hands of the conquerors. The victorious army put the elector of Bavaria in poſſeſſion of Augſburg; and the road to Vienna being thus laid open, the emperor trembled in his capital [17].

THE conſternation of Leopold was, in ſome meaſure, excuſable. The duke of Burgundy, who commanded the French army on the ſide of Alſace, having under him the mareſchals Tallard and Vauban, had made himſelf maſter of Old Briſac; and Tallard, before the end of the campaign, not only retook Landau, but defeated, with great ſlaughter, an army of the allies, under the prince of Heſſe, who was advancing to its relief [18]. In Italy, where Staremberg commanded for the emperor, the duke de Vendome diſarmed, by ſurpriſe, the troops of the duke of Savoy; reduced Barfillio, defeated Viſconti, and took poſſeſſion of the territories of the duke of Modena [19].

THE French were leſs ſucceſsful in the Netherlands; where the duke of Marlborough, having concerted meaſures with the States, was enabled to ap-

16. Theſe particulars are related by Voltaire, from the manuſcript *Memoirs of Mareſchal Villars*, written by himſelf. *Siecle*, chap. xvii.

17. Id. ibid. 18. Burnet. Voltaire. Henault. 19. Ibid.

PART II. A. D. 1703.

pear early in the field. He opened the campaign with the ſiege of Bonne, a ſtrong city in the circle of the Lower Rhine, and the uſual reſidence of the elector of Cologne. That prince, brother to the elector of Bavaria, had placed Bonne, with his other dominions, in the hands of the French at the beginning of the war. Though gallantly defended by the marquis d'Alegre, it was forced to ſurrender, after a ſiege of twelve days. But notwithſtanding this early ſucceſs, and the ſuppoſed weakneſs of the enemy, Marlborough found it impracticable to penetrate into Flanders; the French army, under the mareſchals Boufflers and Villeroy, keeping cautiouſly within their lines, and the Engliſh general not judging it prudent to attempt to force them [20]. He therefore marched back toward the Maeſe, where he took Huy and Limburg. And Gueldres, after a blockade and bombardment of near eighteen months, alſo ſurrendered to the allies [21].

May 15.

THESE acquiſitions, however, were by no means a balance to the advantages of the enemy in other quarters; more eſpecially as the operations of the allies at ſea, during the ſummer, had been languid and undeciſive; in ſome reſpects unfortunate; and their negligence ſo great, that the Spaniſh treaſure from the Havanna, the joint produce of the mines of Mexico and Peru, had arrived ſafe, under convoy of a French fleet, and furniſhed the houſe of Bourbon with freſh reſources for continuing the war. But the confederates were not diſcouraged by their loſſes; nor by an inſurrection in Hungary, which ſpread devaſtation to the gates of Vienna. The Engliſh parliament, ſeized with a kind of military fury, voted

20. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i. Burnet, book vii. 21. Id. ibid.

the

the moſt liberal ſupplies for the enſuing campaign; and the emperor, emboldened by the alliance of Portugal, from which a paſſage might be opened into the heart of the diſputed monarchy, made his ſon Charles aſſume the title of King of Spain, he himſelf and the King of the Romans renouncing all claim to any part of the ſucceſſion. Immediately after this ambitious ſtep the archduke ſet out for the Hague. From Holland, he paſſed over to England; where he was treated with great reſpect, and conducted to Liſbon by a powerful fleet, having on board a conſiderable body of land forces [22].

WHILE the queen of England was exerting herſelf with ſo much vigour in a foreign quarrel, in which her ſubjects were little intereſted, the greateſt diſorders prevailed in her own dominions. The ferment in Scotland, occaſioned by the miſcarriage of the ſettlement at Darien, had never yet fully ſubſided; and although that kingdom readily acknowledged the queen's authority, the hotteſt jealouſies there prevailed, among all ranks of men, reſpecting the independency of their crown, and the freedom of their commerce. Theſe jealouſies were fomented by the inſidious arts of the Jacobites, and the intrigues of the court of St. Germains, aided by a political overſight.

WHEN the Engliſh legiſlature ſettled the ſucceſſion of the crown on the houſe of Hanover, king William had neglected to take the ſame precaution in regard to Scotland; ſo that the ſucceſſion to that crown was ſtill open. This circumſtance was now eagerly ſeized by two ſets of men:—by the adherents of the houſe of Stuart, who hoped to bring in the pretended prince of Wales;

22. Burnet. Voltaire.

and

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and by ſome real patriots, who meant to make uſe of it, in order to reſcue their country from that abject dependence, and even ſlavery into which it had fallen, and in which it had continued, ever ſince its native ſovereigns had added the weight of the crown of England to their ancient prerogative. Beſide theſe men, many others, who were well diſpoſed toward the proteſtant ſucceſſion, zealouſly oppoſed the ſettlement of the Scottiſh crown on the deſcendants of the princeſs Sophia, before the ratification of certain articles, which ſhould provide for the independency of the kingdom, or unite it intimately with England [23].

Nor was the Engliſh nation free from diſcontents. The queen, by throwing herſelf entirely into the hands of the Tories, had rouſed the reſentment of the Whigs, who were in a manner proſcribed, and debarred from office: and an ardent deſire of accompliſhing the purpoſe of the Grand Alliance, which they themſelves had formed, only had prevented them hitherto from obſtructing the meaſures of government. But their patience, under neglect, was at laſt worn out: they became jealous, and not without reaſon, of deſigns againſt the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. The Tories, intoxicated with their good fortune, had revived all the exploded high monarchical and high-church principles; and conjecturing that the queen muſt naturally be diſpoſed to favour the ſucceſſion of her brother, ſeveral of her miniſters held a ſecret correſpondence with the court of St. Germains, and hopes were even entertained by that court of obtaining a ſpeedy repeal of the Act of Settlement [24].

In order to forward theſe views, and to complete the ruin of their political opponents, the Tories pre-

23. Lockhart's *Memoirs*. Burnet, book vii. 24. *Stuart Papers*.

tended,

tended that both the church and monarchy were in danger, from the prevalence of republican and presbyterian principles; and a bill againſt occaſional conformity, which would have excluded all diſſenters, and conſequently a great number of the Whigs, from all civil offices and public employments, was twice preſented to parliament, and as often rejected [25]. The failure of this favourite meaſure, and ſeveral other circumſtances, indicating the ſtrength of the Whigs, induced Marlborough and Godolphin, who are ſaid to have been Tories, and even Jacobites in their hearts, to conceal their ſentiments, and ſeek ſupport from that powerful party. They foreſaw a formidable oppoſition, and perſuaded the queen, that it was neceſſary to diſpel the ſtorm, by bringing ſome of the more moderate Whigs into adminiſtration, and diſmiſſing a few of the moſt violent Tories [26]. Mr. Harley, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, afterward created earl of Oxford, and reputed a Whig, becauſe bred a diſſenter, was accordingly appointed ſecretary of ſtate, in the room of the earl of Nottingham: the office of comptroller-general was beſtowed on his friend, Mr. Manſel; and, at his recommendation, Mr. St. John, ſince better known by the title of lord Viſcount Bolingbroke, was advanced, while very young, to the lucrative place of ſecretary at war [27].

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THIS expedient, however, would have been found inſufficient to ſecure the miniſtry againſt the violence of the Whigs, had not the extraordinary ſucceſs of the next campaign ſilenced all oppoſition. Marlborough having concerted with the miniſters of the States, during the winter, the plan of operations, ſet out early in the ſpring to carry it into execution.

25. Burnet, book vii. 26. *Hanover Papers*, 1704. 27. Ibid.

As

PART II. A. D. 1704. As the ſucceſs of the two foregoing campaigns, by making the allies maſters of the Maeſe and Spaniſh Guelderland, had provided a ſtrong barrier for the United Provinces, the Engliſh general propoſed to march into the heart of Germany; in order to protect the emperor, now almoſt beſieged in his capital, by the Hungarian malcontents, on one ſide, and by the French and Bavarians, on the other. In purſuance of this deſign, but under colour of penetrating into France, he ordered the confederate forces to march toward Coblentz, where he joined them. Croſſing the Rhine at that place, and ſucceſſively the Maine and the Neckar, he was met by prince Eugene at Mondelſheim.

THE reſult of the conference between theſe two great generals, was a junction of the allied army under Marlborough, with the Imperialiſts, commanded by the prince of Baden. That junction being June 2. effected, Marlborough forced, though with the loſs of five thouſand men, the elector of Bavaria's entrenchments near Donawert, and obliged him to quit the field. In conſequence of this victory, the allies got poſſeſſion of Donawert, and obtained a free paſſage over the Danube. But as they were incapable, for want of magazines, either to continue long on the banks of that river, or to penetrate into Bavaria, their ſituation was become very precarious, and they eagerly wiſhed to give battle; when the enemy, being reinforced with thirty thouſand men, under mareſchal Tallard, reſolved to afford them the opportunity they deſired. Before the engagement, the duke of Marlborough was alſo joined by prince Eugene, with twenty thouſand men, from the Upper Rhine; and, in order to free himſelf from the timid or treacherous coun-

counſels of the prince of Baden, he prevailed on him to beſiege Ingolſtadt. The oppoſing armies were now nearly equal, each conſiſting of about eighty thouſand men[28]. But the French generals, Tallard and Marſin, though men of experience and abilities, were much inferior to thoſe of the allies; and the elector of Bavaria, though a brave prince, could not be conſidered as a commander. LETTER XXI. A. D. 1704.

THE French and Bavarians were advantageouſly poſted on a hill, having the Danube and the village of Blenheim on their right: on their left, an extenſive and thick wood, from which ran a rivulet, along their front, into the Danube. This rivulet, in its courſe through the plain, formed an almoſt continued moraſs, the paſſage of which might have been rendered very difficult, if it had been properly guarded. Twenty-eight battalions, and twelve ſquadrons of dragoons, were thrown into the village of Blenheim: eight battalions were alſo placed in another village toward the centre; in order to fall, in conjunction with thoſe at Blenheim, upon the rear of the enemy, when they ſhould paſs the rivulet. Their line, which conſiſted chiefly of cavalry, was weakened by theſe detachments; and, by an unaccountable negligence, the allies were permitted not only to paſs the brook, but to form, without oppoſition[29].

MARLBOROUGH, who commanded the left wing of the allies, having firſt paſſed the brook, ordered the two villages to be attacked by the infantry, while he himſelf led his cavalry againſt thoſe of Tallard. The attack on the villages proved unſucceſsful; the Eng- Auguſt 13.

28. *Mem. du Marq. de Feuquieres.* 29. Id. ibid. See alſo Kane's *Campaigns.*

liſh

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liſh and Heſſians being repulſed, after three ſucceſſive attempts. The French horſe, however, in ſpite of their moſt vigorous efforts, were obliged to give ground. They retired behind the fire of ten battalions, which Tallard had ordered to advance to their relief. But theſe alſo were broken by the Engliſh foot. Marlborough charged home with his horſe; and drove the French cavalry with ſuch precipitation from the field, that moſt of thoſe who eſcaped the ſword were drowned in the Danube. The ten advanced battalions of the enemy's foot were, at the ſame time, charged on all ſides, and cut in pieces. Tallard himſelf was taken priſoner, together with many other officers of diſtinction.

MEANWHILE prince Eugene who commanded the right wing of the confederates, after having been thrice repulſed, had broken the French and Bavarians, under the elector and Marſin; and, though they could ſcarce be ſaid to have been routed, they no ſooner heard of Tallard's defeat, than they left the field, with every mark of hurry and diſgrace. The twenty-eight battalions of foot, and twelve ſquadrons of dragoons, in the village of Blenheim, all veterans, and the beſt troops in France, were now abandoned to their fate. After a vigorous, but ineffectual ſally, they found themſelves obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion [30].—Such my dear Philip, was the famous battle of Blenheim, in which the French and Bavarians, including killed and taken, loſt near forty thouſand men. Their camp-equipage, baggage, artillery, and every trophy that can diſtinguiſh a complete victory, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Theſe trophies, however, were not acquired without conſiderable loſs of blood. The allies

30. Feuquieres. Burnet. Voltaire. 31. Ibid.

had

had five thouſand men killed, and near eight thouſand wounded [31]. LETTER XXI. A. D. 1704.

As no modern victory, between diſciplined armies, was ever more deciſive than this, none could be followed by more ſudden or important conſequences. The emperor was relieved from his fears; the Hungarian malcontents were over-awed; and the conqueſts and dominions of the elector of Bavaria fell, at once, into the hands of Leopold, who revenged ſeverely on the ſubjects of that prince, the exceſſes which had been committed on his own. An extent of ſeventy leagues of country was expoſed to all the ravages of war. Broken, ruined and diſperſed, the forces of Lewis XIV. left a free and uninterrupted march to the confederates from the Danube to the Rhine; and the wretched remains of that army, which, at the beginning of the ſeaſon had ſpread terror to the gates of Vienna, was obliged to take ſhelter within the frontiers of France. The victors croſſed the Rhine: they entered Alſace; and the important fortreſſes of Landau and Trierbach ſurrendered to them before the cloſe of the campaign [32].

But the ſame good fortune, which attended the arms of the confederates in Germany, did not extend to every ſcene of operations. In Flanders, during this ſummer, the war being merely defenſive, produced no event either brilliant or important. On the Portugueſe ſide of Spain, the archduke, who had aſſumed the title of Charles III. was able to make no progreſs. On the contrary Philip V. aſſiſted by the duke of Berwick, carried the war into Portugal; took ſeveral places, and defeated all the attempts of the

31. Ibid. 32. Voltaire. Tindal. Burnet.

allies

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allies to invade Caſtile [33]. In Italy, the campaign proved, upon the whole, favourable to the houſe of Bourbon. The caſtle of Suza, the city of Pignerol, Vercelli, Yvrea, and Sanſano, were reduced by Vendome [34].

THE operations at ſea during this memorable year, were ſcarcely leſs important than thoſe by land. The combined fleet of England and Holland, which carried the archduke to Liſbon, having failed in an attempt upon Barcelona, where a party was ſuppoſed to have been formed for the houſe of Auſtria, appeared before Gibraltar; and that ſtrong fortreſs, hitherto deemed impregnable, was taken at the firſt aſſault. Aſtoniſhed at the intrepidity of the Engliſh ſailors, who aſcended the mole ſword in hand, the governor immediately ſurrendered the place; which was committed to the

33. Notwithſtanding theſe important ſervices, the duke of Berwick was recalled. Of this matter, he gives the following curious account. "The duke of Gramont, the French miniſter at Madrid, had taken it "into his head that he was to govern there as deſpotically as the cardi- "nals Richelieu and Mazarine had formerly done in France. I had no "objection to this, with reſpect to the civil department, but in the "military, I was reſolved that he ſhould not have the ſame ſway; think- "ing it reaſonable that I ſhould be conſulted in every thing, and even "that my plans ſhould be adopted, as I muſt be anſwerable for the ſuc- "ceſs of the whole. From theſe contrary humours it followed, that "Gramont took upon him to order every thing, without conſulting or "communicating with me; and I, on the other hand, ſteady to my "principle, refuſed to execute any enterprize of which I did not ap- "prove." The duke's recall was the conſequence of this commendable pride.

When the maréſchal de Teſſé, who ſucceeded to the chief command in Spain, arrived at Madrid, he naturally inquired of the queen, if ſhe had not reaſon to be ſatisfied with the campaign which the duke of Berwick had made. She ſaid he was much eſteemed, and had rendered great ſervice to the kingdom, "Why then," anſwered Teſſé, "have you had "him recalled?"—"If I muſt tell you," replied the queen peeviſhly, "he is a great obſtinate devil of an Engliſhman, who will always have "his own way." Berwick's *Mem.* tom. i. 34. Henault, 1704.

care of the prince of Heſſe Darmſtadt, for the queen of England [35]. LETTER XXI. A. D. 1704.

NOR was the acquiſition of this great key of the Mediterranean, the only advantage reſulting from the enterpriſe. Part of the Spaniſh army employed in Portugal being withdrawn, for the purpoſe of retaking Gibraltar, a ſtop was by that means put to the progreſs of Philip V. who might otherwiſe have advanced to the gates of Liſbon; and the French fleet, to the number of fifty-two ſhips of the line, under the count de Toulouſe, coming to the aid of the beſiegers, was defeated off Malaga, by the combined fleet, commanded by Sir George Rooke and Calemberg, the Dutch admiral. The force on both ſides was nearly equal, and the battle was obſtinate and bloody, though no ſhip was either ſunk or taken. This was partly owing to the interpoſition of night, and partly to the ſhifting of the wind, which enabled the French to elude all the endeavours of the confederates to renew the engagement [36]. Lewis XIV. affected, however, to claim the victory. But it was obvious to all Europe, that the combined fleet kept the ſea; and that the French took refuge in their own ports, inſtead of lending any aſſiſtance to the Spaniards before Gibraltar.

THESE fortunate events, but more eſpecially the memorable victory obtained at Blenheim, which was juſtly aſcribed to Engliſh valour, diffuſed a general joy over the nation. This joy communicated itſelf to the repreſentatives of the people, who granted very liberal ſupplies for proſecuting the war, with the utmoſt readineſs; and the whole buſineſs of parlia-

35. Burnet, book vii. *Lives of the Admirals*, vol. iii. 36. Ib. ibid.

PART II. A.D. 1704. ment was not only conducted with harmony but carried forward with zeal and expedition. Pleaſed with the humiliation of the houſe of Bourbon, the Whigs, inſtead of oppoſing the miniſtry, uſed every endeavour to engage the duke of Marlborough in their cauſe; and Godolphin, either from policy, or principle, threw himſelf entirely into their hands.

A.D. 1705. THE queen diſſolved the parliament; and the Whigs, whoſe principles recommended them to the independent part of the kingdom, having the countenance of government, and the ſupport of the moneyed intereſt, obtained a decided majority in the new houſe of commons. The elections went generally in their favour, notwithſtanding the clamour raiſed by the Tories of the danger of the church, and the growth of Preſbyterianiſm. Both houſes now paſſed a vote, That the church was in a ſafe and flouriſhing condition, and that whoever ſhould ſuggeſt that the eſtabliſhed religion was in danger, was an enemy to the queen, the church, and the kingdom. They alſo, to the great diſappointment of the Tories, already mortified by the foregoing vote, repealed two ſevere laws againſt the commerce and people of Scotland, in order to induce the parliament of that kingdom to ſettle the crown on the houſe of Hanover, as well as to liſten to propoſals for a treaty of union with England [37]; meaſures highly neceſſary to the welfare of both kingdoms, and eſſential to the ſecurity of the Proteſtant Succeſſion.

WHILE the Engliſh parliament was taking theſe prudent ſteps for ſecuring the peace of the kingdom, as well as for proſecuting the war with vigour, France

37. Journals 1705. Burnet, book vii.

was

was not only depreſſed by external misfortunes, but diſtracted by internal commotions. Though the Hugonots were chiefly exterminated, or induced, from motives of fear or intereſt, to conform to the eſtabliſhed religion, by the rewards that were held out to them, and the ſevere perſecution which they had ſuffered, both before and after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, yet many of them had taken refuge in the Cevennes, a mountainous country in the ſouth of France, where they led a ſavage life along with the rude natives, under the name of Camiſards, and enjoyed their religion in a ſtate of barbarity. Like zealots of all ſects, when ignorant and perſecuted, they believed themſelves to be the peculiar favourites of Heaven, and laid claim to the higheſt gifts of inſpiration. They had their prophets and propheteſſes, who aſſumed an abſolute authority over them, and are ſaid to have excited them to the moſt atrocious cruelties, both againſt the catholics and the refractory part of their own ſect [38].

At length, encouraged by theſe viſionaries, by their increaſing numbers, and by the promiſes of the confederates, the Camiſards, on the commencement of the war, in 1701, began to mingle politics with their religion. They demanded "liberty of conſcience, "and an exemption from taxes!" and took arms to

38. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i. "I have heard mareſchal "Villars relate," ſays Voltaire, "that, aſking Cavalier, the moſt conſi"derable of their chiefs, How, at his years, being little above twenty, he "could acquire ſo much authority over a headſtrong, undiſciplined rab"ble? he replied, that whenever they refuſed to obey, his propheteſs "(known among them by the name of the *Great Mary*) was inſtantly "ſeized with a fit of inſpiration, and condemned the refractory to the "puniſhment of death, without any form of trial. And having myſ"ſelf," adds the hiſtorian, "put the ſame queſtion to Cavalier, he re"turned the ſame anſwer." *Siecle*, chap. xxxii.

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ſupport their pretenſions. Several generals were ſent againſt them, with various ſucceſs, and among others the celebrated mareſchal Villars; who, after making them ſenſible of his power, entered into treaty with them, in 1704. But they, ſuſpecting the ſincerity of the court, broke off the negociation, when it was almoſt finiſhed; and Villars being recalled, in order to enter on a more important ſcene of action, the duke of Berwick was diſpatched againſt them, on his return from Spain. As ſeverity was now become as neceſſary as it was formerly impolitic, the duke exerciſed it without reſerve, and ſoon reduced the Camiſards to obedience [39].

Lewis XIV. although deſtitute of that ſuperior magnanimity which is never vainly elated, and which can calmly look down on the higheſt ſucceſs, poſſeſſed in an eminent degree that Chriſtian fortitude which enables the ſoul to bear misfortunes with compoſure and reſignation. Though accuſtomed to victory, he received the intelligence of the ruin of his army at Blenheim, without any marks of confuſion, and took the moſt vigorous ſteps for repairing his loſs, as well

39. For this ſeverity, the duke of Berwick makes the following manly apology: "Aſſiſted by the underſtanding and advice of M. de Baſville, "one of the moſt ſenſible men in France, I made it my buſineſs to pre-"vent every thing that might tend to excite commotions, and declared, "That I came neither as a perſecutor nor a miſſionary, but with a reſo-"lution to do equal juſtice to every one; to protect all who ſhould be-"have themſelves as faithful ſubjects of the king, and to puniſh with the "utmoſt rigour thoſe who ſhould dare to oppoſe his authority.—I know," adds he, "that attempts have been made, in many countries, to blacken "our proceedings againſt theſe people; but I can proteſt, as a man of "honour, that there is no ſort of crimes of which the Camiſards had not "been guilty. To rebellion, ſacrilege, murder, theft, and licentiouſneſs, "they joined the moſt unheard of cruelties; ſo far even as to have "prieſts broiled, to rip out the bowels of pregnant women, and to roaſt "their children!" *Mem.* vol. i.

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as for checking the progreſs of the victorious enemy. At the end of the campaign, however, he found that he had been ſtript of great part of his former conqueſts. But France, and even Flanders, was ſtill entire; and as he underſtood that the duke of Marlborough intended, next campaign, to carry the war, by the Moſelle, into the heart of his dominions, he aſſembled, on that ſide, an army of ſeventy thouſand men, under the command of mareſchal Villars. The Engliſh general having croſſed the Moſelle and the Saar, in the month of May, paſſed the defile of Taveren, and advanced to Delft. But not being joined by the prince of Baden, as he expected, he was obliged to retreat: and ſo maſterly was the conduct of Villars, his antagoniſt, that he was not able to effect any enterprize of conſequence during the campaign[40]. LETTER XIX. A.D. 1705.

THOUGH the emperor Leopold, whoſe death made no change in the political ſyſtem of the confederates, was ſucceeded in the imperial throne by his ſon Joſeph, King of the Romans, a prince of greater vigour and abilities, the ſluggiſhneſs of the Germanic body, and the obſtinacy of the prince of Baden, prevented the allied army from making any progreſs on the ſide of Flanders. In Italy, the French ſtill maintained their ſuperiority. The duke de Vendome took Villa Franca and Verue; he repulſed the Imperialiſts, under prince Eugene, in attempting to force the paſſage of the Adda, at the bridge of Caſſano; and the duke of Savoy, no longer able to keep the field, was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in Turin, without any proſpect of relief[41].

40. Burnet. Voltaire. Hainault. 41. Ibid.

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THE confederates were more fortunate in Spain. The mareſchal de Teſſé, after loſing a vaſt number of men, was forced to raiſe the ſiege of Gibraltar; and he had alſo the mortification, a few days before he abandoned the enterprize, to behold a French fleet, that was come to his aſſiſtance, under the famous de Pontis, defeated, and chiefly taken or deſtroyed, by an Engliſh ſquadron, commanded by Sir John Leake. Encouraged by theſe favourable events, the confederates entered the enemy's country, on the frontiers of Beira and Alantejo, and reduced the principal places in the province of Eſtramadura. In other quarters they were ſtill more ſucceſsful. An Engliſh fleet, conducted by Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, carrying five thouſand land forces, under the celebrated earl of Peterborough, being joined at Liſbon by Sir John Leake and the Dutch admiral Allemande, and reinforced with ſome troops from the confederate army in Portugal, took on board the archduke, and ſailed for the coaſt of Catalonia, where he was ſuppoſed to have many friends. Alarmed at the appearance of ſuch a formidable force, the Spaniards, in general, declared for the houſe of Auſtria. The fortreſſes of Lerida and Tortoſa were yielded without a blow: Barcelona, though furniſhed with a garriſon of five thouſand men, under the duke de Popoli, was obliged to ſurrender; and almoſt the whole kingdom of Valencia, as well as the province of Catalonia, ſubmitted to Charles III. [42]

THE particulars of the ſiege of Barcelona, as related by Voltaire, are too much for the honour of this country to be omitted by an Engliſh hiſtorian. The earl of Peterborough, ſays he, a man in every reſ-

42. Burnet, book vii. *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. ii.

pect

pect reſembling thoſe imaginary heroes that the Spaniards have repreſented in their romances, propoſed to the prince of Heſſe Darmſtadt to force, ſword in hand, the entrenchments which covered fort Montjouy and the town. The enterprize was accordingly executed with ſucceſs; but with the loſs of the brave prince of Heſſe, who was killed in the attack. The garriſon, however, ſtill held out; when a bomb, directed at Montjouy, happening to enter the powder magazine, it blew up with a terrible exploſion, and the fort inſtantly ſurrendered. The town ſoon after offered to capitulate; and the duke de Popoli, the governor, came to the gate, in order to adjuſt the articles with Peterborough. But before they were ſigned, tumultuous ſhouts being heard, "You betray us!" exclaimed Popoli. "Whilſt we, with "honour and ſincerity, are here treating with you, "your troops have entered the town by the ramparts, "and are murdering, plundering, and committing "every ſpecies of violence."

"You are miſtaken," replied Peterborough: "theſe muſt be the troops of the prince of Darmſtadt. "There is only one expedient left to ſave your town: "allow me freely to enter it with my Engliſhmen. I "will ſoon make all quiet, and come back to conclude "the capitulation." Theſe words he uttered with an air of dignity and truth, which, joined to a ſenſe of preſent danger, induced the governor to comply. Attended by ſome of his officers, he haſtened into the ſtreets, where the licentious ſoldiery, but more eſpecially the Germans and Catalans, were pillaging the houſes of the principal inhabitants. He drove them from their prey: he obliged them to give up even the booty they had ſeized; and he happily reſ-

LETTER XXI.

cued from their hands the ducheſs de Popoli, when on the point of being diſhonoured, and reſtored her to her huſband [43]. In a word, after having quelled every appearance of diſorder in the town, he returned to the gate, and finiſhed the capitulation with the governor; — to the utter aſtoniſhment of the Spaniards, at finding ſo much honour and generoſity in a people, whom they had hitherto been accuſtomed to conſider only as mercileſs heretics [44].

A. D. 1705.

THESE acquiſitions, and ſplendid achievements in Spain, ſo flattering to the pride of the Engliſh nation, made the people, and even the parliament, eager to proſecute the war, notwithſtanding the ſmall ſucceſs in other quarters. Nor was the houſe of Bourbon leſs diſpoſed to vigorous meaſures. The check given to the confederates on the Moſelle, joined to the rapid progreſs of the French arms in Italy, having elated anew the ſpirit of Lewis XIV. he raſhly reſolved, during the enſuing campaign, to act offenſively in the Low Countries; at the ſame time that he ſhould ſtrip the duke of Savoy of his dominions, ſupport his grandſon in Spain, and maintain an army in Germany. And to all theſe attempts he was perhaps equal, had the abilities of his generals been adequate to the number and the valour of his troops. His hopes in regard to Savoy, at leaſt, were by no means preſumptuous. The duke of Berwick had taken Nice in the beginning of the year; and Vendome having defeated the Imperialiſts at Calcinato, in the month of April, ordered Turin to be inveſted. On the ſide of Germany, mareſchal Villars juſtified the confidence of his maſter, by driving the prince of

A. D. 1706.

43. *Steele*, chap. xix. 44. Id. ibid. Burnet mentions this tumult, but in a manner ſomewhat different. (*Hiſt. Own Times*, book vii.) He was no friend to the earl of Peterborough.

Baden

Baden before him; and had not his army been weakened by detachments, in order to ſupply the loſſes occaſioned by the miſconduct of other commanders, he might have penetrated into the heart of the empire[45]. The ardour of mareſchal Villeroy, in Flanders, led the way to the future misfortunes of Lewis.

LETTER XXI.

A.D. 1706.

THE duke of Marlborough, having made every preparation for a vigorous campaign, joined the united army of England and Holland, between Brochloen and Groſſwaren, on the 20th of May. Mareſchal Villeroy, with a ſuperior army, had advanced to Tirlemont; and, ambitious of entering the liſts with Marlborough, he precipitately puſhed forward to Ramillies. On gaining the heights, where riſes the Little Geete, he perceived the allies in full march toward him, and immediately formed his army in order of battle. The Geete, and an impaſſible moraſs running along its banks, covered his left wing, and prevented it alike from being attacked and from charging the enemy: the village of Ramillies, ſituated in a plain near the ſource of the Geete, was oppoſed before his centre, which conſiſted entirely of infantry; the village of Tavieres, on the banks of the Mehaigne, covered his right wing; and an open and level ſpace, between Tavieres and Ramillies, about a mile and a half in length, was filled with an hundred ſquadrons of horſe[46].

SUCH was the diſpoſition of the French forces in the battle of Ramillies, and ſuch the ground on which it was fought. Marlborough, perceiving the defects of that diſpoſition, ordered a feigned attack to be made

45. Barre, *Hiſt. d'Allemagne*, tom. x. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xix. Burnet, book vii.

46. *Mem. du Marq. de Feuquieres.*

on

PART II. A. D. 1706.

on the left wing of the enemy; and although this was utterly impracticable, it ſerved to confuſe Villeroy, and to prevent him from bringing the troops of that wing to ſupport his centre, on which the Engliſh general fell with all the force that compoſed his own. The Dutch infantry, under Auverquerque, attacked at the ſame time the enemy's right wing. But the French ſtill making a gallant reſiſtance, Marlborough ordered all his cavalry to advance to the charge; and in leſs than half an hour, the whole centre of the enemy was broken and routed. The right wing alſo gave way before the Dutch, and confuſion, ſlaughter, and flight, every where prevailed [47]. A complete victory remained to the allies, who took one hundred pieces of cannon, one hundred and twenty military trophies, and a great quantity of baggage, with the loſs of little more than two thouſand men, while the French loſt near twenty thouſand [48].

THE total conqueſt of Brabant, and almoſt all Spaniſh Flanders, was the immediate conſequence of this victory. Louvain, Bruſſels, Antwerp, Ghent, Oudenarde, and other places, ſurrendered at diſcretion. Oſtend, ſo famous for its long ſiege in the laſt century, put the firſt ſtop to the progreſs of the confederates. It was forced, however, to capitulate, after a ſiege of ten days. Even Menin, fortified according to the moſt perfect rules of art, and defended by a garriſon of ſix thouſand men, ſurrendered in three weeks; and the operations of the campaign were concluded with the taking of Ath and Dendermonde, the French not daring to attempt their relief [49].

47. Id. ibid. 48. Burnet, book vii. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xix. 49. Voltaire, ubi ſup.

THE

LETTER XXI.

A. D. 1706.

THE conſequences of the battle of Ramillies were not confined to Flanders: they extended even to Italy, where Lewis XIV. hoped the taking of Turin would afford ſome conſolation for his loſſes in other quarters. The ſiege of this large and important city was committed to the duke de Feuillade, ſon-in-law to Chamillard, the miniſter for war, who furniſhed him with every thing that could poſſibly contribute to render ſuch an undertaking ſucceſsful; with one hundred and forty pieces of battering cannon; one hundred and ten thouſand bullets; one hundred and ſix thouſand cartouches of one ſort, and three hundred thouſand of another; twenty-one thouſand bombs; twenty-ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred grenades; fifteen thouſand bags of earth; thirty thouſand inſtruments for pioneering, and one million two hundred thouſand pounds of powder; beſide a vaſt quantity of lead, iron, tin, ropes, ſulphur, ſaltpetre, and every thing requiſite for miners[50]. The preparations, in a word, were ſuch as ſtartle the imagination; and Feuillade, being a man of courage and activity, conducted the operations with vigour, but contrary to all the rules of art. Having begun the attack on the ſtrongeſt ſide, and neglected to ſurround the whole town, the inhabitants of the country could ſend ſupplies, both of men and proviſions, to the garriſon; ſo that all the ardour which he ſhewed, in many repeated aſſaults, ſerved only to diminiſh the number of the beſiegers[51]. The place, however, muſt at length have been taken, notwithſtanding the blunders of Feuillade, but for one of thoſe great events on which depend the fate of nations.

PRINCE Eugene was ſo ſituated, that it was thought he could not advance to ſuccour Turin. He was on

50. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xix.

51. Id. ibid.

PART II. A.D. 1706.

the eaſt ſide of the Adige; and as that river, on the weſt ſide, was fortified with a long chain of entrenchments, the paſſage ſeemed impracticable. The beſiegers conſiſted of forty-ſix ſquadrons and an hundred battalions. Vendome, in order to favour their operations, remained ſtationed on the banks of the Adige, from the 13th of May to the 20th of June. He had with him ſeventy battalions and ſixty ſquadrons; and, with this force, he did not doubt but he ſhould be able to obſtruct the approach of prince Eugene.

BUT, unfortunately for the affairs of the houſe of Bourbon in Italy, Vendome was recalled, to collect the broken remains of Villeroy's army in Flanders; and, if poſſible, to ſtem the tide of misfortune in that quarter. Before his departure, however, he had found it impoſſible to prevent prince Eugene from paſſing the Adige, and even the Po. He was ſucceeded in the chief command by the duke of Orleans, nephew to Lewis XIV. aſſiſted by the marſchal de Marſin, and other experienced officers. As prince Eugene had paſſed the Po, in ſpite of Vendome, he croſſed the Tenaro, in ſight of the duke of Orleans. He took Carpi, Corregio, and Reggio; and having ſtolen a march upon the French, he was joined, near Aſti, by the duke of Savoy, who not chuſing to ſhut himſelf up in his capital, had taken refuge in the vallies of Lucerne, amongſt his proteſtant ſubjects, the Vadois, and occaſionally annoyed the beſiegers with a ſmall body of cavalry [52].

NOTHING now remained for the duke of Orleans but to join Feuillade at the camp before Turin.

52. Voltaire, ubi ſup. Burnet, book vii.

Prince

Prince Eugene followed him thither, with all expedition, determined to raiſe the ſiege. It therefore became neceſſary for the French now to reſolve, whether they ſhould wait for the enemy in their lines, or march out and meet him in the field. A council of war was accordingly called, conſiſting of the mareſchal de Marſin, the duke de Feuillade, Abbergotti, St. Fremont, and other lieutenant-generals. "If we remain "in our lines," ſaid the duke of Orleans, "we ſhall "certainly be defeated. They are fifty miles in "extent; and our numbers, though great, are not "ſufficient to defend them. The Doria, which runs "through our camp, will prevent our troops from "ſpeedily ſuccouring each other. And, in waiting for an attack, the French loſe one of their "greateſt advantages; that vehemence, and thoſe "firſt movements of ardour, which ſo often determine the events of war. It is therefore my opinion, we ought to march againſt the enemy." All the lieutenant-generals, with one voice, replied, "Let "us march!" but the mareſchal de Marſin produced an order, ſigned by the king, commanding them not to offer, but to wait for battle[53].

LETTER XXI. A.D. 1706.

THAT order, with which the duke of Orleans was obliged to comply, hurt his pride, and confuſed the meaſures of the French generals; who, being of different opinions, diſputed long, without coming to any fixed determination, how to act. Meanwhile prince Eugene, having made his diſpoſitions, fell ſuddenly on their entrenchments; and, after an obſtinate ſtruggle

53. Id. ibid. It was this timidity of the court of Verſailles which made prince Eugene ſay, in a complimentary letter to the duke of Marlborough, that he "felt the effects of the battle of Ramillies, even "in Italy." Burnet, book vii.

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of two hours, entered their camp, drove them from all their poſts, and took their cannon, baggage, ammunition, and military cheſt. The duke of Orleans was ſlightly wounded, and the mareſchal de Marſin mortally. The whole French army was routed and diſperſed; and, although the number of the killed did not exceed three thouſand, ſuch was the terror of the fugitives, that they retreated immediately toward Pignerol, and made the beſt of their way into Dauphiny[54]: ſo that the houſe of Bourbon loſt, at one blow, the duchies of Milan and Mantua, the principality of Piedmont, and eventually the kingdom of Naples.

The confederates, notwithſtanding ſome unfavourable circumſtances, were no leſs ſucceſsful in Spain. The archduke Charles having eſtabliſhed himſelf in that kingdom, during the winter, by the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh troops, under the earl of Peterborough, Philip V. and the mareſchal de Taſſé, advanced againſt him in the ſpring, with an army of twenty thouſand men; and obliged him to take ſhelter in Barcelona, which they beſieged, while the count de Toulouſe, with a French fleet, blocked it up by ſea. Fort Montjouy was taken; and the French and Spaniards were preparing for the aſſault of the town, a practicable breach being already made, when Sir John Leake, with a ſuperior fleet, appearing on the coaſt, the count de Toulouſe judged it prudent to retire in the night. A reinforcement was thrown into the place; and Philip V. and the marchal de Taſſé raiſed the ſiege with the utmoſt precipitation and diſorder, leaving behind them their cannon, their proviſions, and their implements

54. Burnet, Voltaire, Feuquieres, Hainault.

of

of war, with all their ſick and wounded men[55]. This diſorder was partly occaſioned by an almoſt total eclipſe of the ſun, which happened as they were marching off, and completed the confuſion of the ſuperſtitious Spaniards[56]. LETTER XXI. A.D. 1706.

WHILE Philip V. was returning in diſgrace to his capital, with his broken and ruined army, the Engliſh and Portugueſe, having entered Eſtramadura with forty thouſand men, under the command of the earl of Galway, and the marquis de las Minas, made themſelves maſters of Alcantara, Cividad Roderigo, Salamanca, and the port of Elpinar. And the duke of Berwick, who was again appointed to the chief command in Spain, being too weak to obſtruct their progreſs, they directed their march, and penetrated, without reſiſtance, to Madrid. Philip was obliged to remove, with his court, to Burgos: and the Engliſh and Portugueſe, on the ſame day that they entered his capital in triumph, received intelligence, that the count de Santa Cruz had delivered Carthagena and the gallies into their hands.

THE archduke was proclaimed king of Spain, under the name of Charles III. and had he advanced immediately to the ſeat of power, the Spaniſh crown would have been transferred for ever from the houſe of Bourbon. But he loitered unaccountably in the neighbourhood of Barcelona, while the Engliſh and Portugueſe diſſolved in ſloth and debauchery at Madrid. In the mean time, Philip V. having collected a ſuperior army, Galway and las Minas were forced to quit that city. The duke of Berwick hung cloſe on their

55. *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. ii. Burnet, book vii. *Duke of Berwick's Mem.* vol. i. 56. Burnet, ubi ſup.

rear,

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rear, and gained ſome advantages over them; yet they, having effected a junction with the earl of Peterborough and the archduke, paſſed ſafely into the kingdom of Valencia, and diſpoſed their quarters in ſuch a manner as to cover the kingdoms of Arragon and Catalonia, and preſerve, at the ſame time, a free entrance into Caſtile. Carthagena, however, was retaken before the cloſe of the campaign. But that loſs was more than balanced by the acquiſition of the iſlands of Majorca and Iviza, which the Engliſh fleet, under Sir John Leake, ſubjected to the dominion of Charles III[57].

During theſe important tranſactions in the South and Weſt of Europe, the affairs of the North and Eaſt had undergone a conſiderable change. The progreſs of that revolution it muſt now be our buſineſs to trace; as it began, about this time, to threaten the confederates by its conſequences.

Charles XII. of Sweden, agreeable to that reſolution which he had formed of dethroning the king of Poland, by means of the diſcontents of his own ſubjects, entered into a ſecret correſpondence with Rajouſky, the cardinal-primate, who was active in rouſing the jealouſy of the nobles; ſo that Auguſtus found, on calling a diet, which broke up in a tumultuous manner, in February 1702, that the malecontents compoſed the majority of that aſſembly. The ſenate was not more loyally diſpoſed. Willing, therefore, to humble himſelf before the Swediſh monarch, rather than ſubmit to the inſolent demands of his factious ſubjects, Auguſtus attempted ſecretly to treat

57. *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. ii. Burnet, book vii. *Duke of Berwick's Mem.* vol. i.

with

with that prince. But Charles, ſuſpecting his deſign, and ſtill burning with revenge, obſtinately refuſed to ſee the counteſs of Koningſmark, a Swediſh lady, who was intruſted with the negociation, while he received, with the higheſt marks of reſpect, an embaſſy from the ſenate. He aſſured the deputies, that he took arms againſt Auguſtus and the Saxons, not againſt the Poles, whom he ſhould ever eſteem his friends and allies. But inſtead of agreeing to a conference, as they propoſed, he only told them bluntly, that he would confer with them at Warſaw [58].

CHARLES accordingly marched toward that capital, which opened its gates to him on the firſt ſummons. The Poliſh nobility had chiefly retired to their country ſeats, and the king to Cracow. While Auguſtus was there aſſembling his forces, the cardinal-primate, whoſe treachery was yet undiſcovered, appeared among the few perſons of diſtinction who ſtill adhered to their ſovereign, and intimated to him, that the king of Sweden was believed to be very well inclined to liſten to terms of accommodation. And he humbly begged leave to wait on the terrible warrior for that purpoſe. His inſidious offer was accepted, and he and count Leczinſki had an audience of Charles in the neighbourhood of Warſaw. They found the Swediſh monarch clad in a coat of coarſe blue cloth, with braſs buttons, large jack-boots, and buck-ſkin gloves that reached to his elbows. After they had talked together ſtanding, for about a quarter of an hour, Charles put an end to the conference, by ſaying aloud, "I will never grant the "Poles peace, till they have elected a new king [59]!" The primate, who expected ſuch a declaration, ordered

58. Voltaire, *Hiſt. of Charles XII.* 59. Id. ibid.

PART II. A. D. 1706.

it to be notified to all the Palatines; aſſuring them, that it gave him great concern, but repreſenting, at the ſame time, the abſolute neceſſity of complying with the requeſt of the conquering Swede.

AUGUSTUS, on receiving this intelligence, ſaw that he muſt either relinquiſh his crown, or reſolve to preſerve it by force of arms: and he took the moſt vigorous meaſures for appealing to the deciſion of the ſword. Having ſtrengthened his Saxon guards, on which he placed his chief dependence, with the ſuccours of the nobility of the palatinate of Cracow, who ſtill remained faithful to him, and alſo with that body of Poliſh troops which bore the name of the *Army of the Crown*, he marched in queſt of the king of Sweden. Nor was he long in meeting with his antagoniſt, that prince having already taken the field with the ſame hoſtile views. The contending kings met in a ſpacious plain near Gliſſaw, between Warſaw and Cracow. Auguſtus led about twenty-four thouſand men, Charles little above half that number, yet he advanced to the charge with intrepidity; and although the king of Poland performed every thing that could be expected from a gallant prince fighting for his crown, he was defeated with great ſlaughter. Thrice did he rally his troops in perſon, and attempt to reſtore the battle, but in vain: all his efforts were fruitleſs. The Saxons only could be ſaid to fight for him. The Poles, who formed his right wing, gave ground in the beginning of the engagement. Some fled through fear, others from diſaffection. The valour and good fortune of Charles prevailed. He gained a complete victory, with all the honours that could attend it: he took poſſeſſion of the enemy's camp; and their baggage, their cannon, and

and even the military chest of Auguſtus, fell into his hands [60]. LETTER XXI. A.D. 1706.

THE king of Sweden halted not a moment on the field of battle. He directed his march inſtantly to Cracow, which ſurrendered without firing a gun. Determined ſtill to purſue Auguſtus, in order to prevent his aſſembling a new army, Charles quickly left that city; but his thigh-bone being broken ſoon after, in conſequence of the fall of his horſe, he was confined to his bed for ſix weeks. During this interval of repoſe, the king of Poland aſſembled a diet at Lublin; where, by his affability, engaging manner, and fine accompliſhments, he in a great meaſure recovered the affections of his ſubjects. All the Palatines ſwore they would continue faithful to their ſovereign. They agreed to maintain an army of fifty thouſand men for his defence; and they reſolved, that forty days ſhould be allowed the king of Sweden finally to determine, whether he was diſpoſed to peace or war [61].

BEFORE the expiration of that term, Charles being able to go abroad, overturned all the reſolutions of the diet of Lubin, by one aſſembled at Warſaw. Meanwhile, having received a ſtrong reinforcement from Pomerania, he marched againſt the remains of the Saxon army, which he had defeated at Gliſſaw, and which had been collected and recruited during his confinement. He came up with the enemy on the firſt of May 1703, at a place named Pultauſk. General Stenau commanded the Saxons, who amounted to ten thouſand men. The Swedes conſiſted only of an equal number; yet ſo great was the terror ſtruck by the arms of Charles, that one half of the enemy fled

60. Parthenay, *Hiſt. Polog.* lib. iv. Voltaire, *Hiſt. Charles XII.*
61. Voltaire, ubi ſup.

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at his approach, and the reſt were ſoon routed and diſperſed. Auguſtus himſelf retired to Thorn, an ancient city on the Viſtula, in Poliſh Pruſſia. Charles followed him, and beſieged the place, which ſurrendered within a month; but the king of Poland had found means, before it was inveſted, to eſcape into Saxony [62].

THE diet at Warſaw, through the intrigues of the cardinal-primate, now declared, "That Auguſtus, "elector of Saxony, was incapable of wearing the "crown of Poland;" and all the members, with one voice, pronounced the throne to be vacant, on the 14th of February 1704. It was the intention of the king of Sweden, and the wiſh of the diet, to raiſe to the throne James Sobieſki, eldeſt ſon of the late king; but that prince being taken priſoner, together with his ſecond brother, Conſtantine, while hunting in the neighbourhood of Breſlaw, in Silesia, by a party of Saxon dragoons, the crown of Poland was offered to a younger brother, named Alexander, who rejected it with a generoſity perhaps unexampled in hiſtory. Nothing, he ſaid, ſhould ever induce him to take advantage of the misfortune of his elder brothers: and he entreated Charles to employ his victorious arms, in reſtoring liberty to the unhappy captives [63].

THIS refuſal, and the misfortune which led to it, having diſconcerted the meaſures of the Swediſh monarch, his miniſter, count Piper, who was as great a politician as his maſter was a warrior, adviſed Charles to take the crown of Poland to himſelf. He repreſented how eaſy it would be to accompliſh ſuch a

62. Parth. *Hiſt. Polog.* lib. v. 63. Id. ibid.

ſcheme,

ſcheme, with a victorious army, and a powerful party in the heart of the kingdom, which was already ſubdued;—and he tempted him with the title of "*Defender* of the *Evangelical Religion*;" an appellation which flattered the prejudices of the northern conqueror. What Guſtavus Vaſa had effected in Sweden, might be accompliſhed, the count affirmed, with the greateſt facility in Poland; the eſtabliſhment of the Lutheran religion, and the enfranchiſement of the people, now held in the moſt abject ſlavery by the nobility and clergy. Charles acquieſced in the prudent propoſal for a moment; but, blinded by the illuſions of romantic glory, he afterward told his miniſter, that he had more pleaſure in giving away, than in conquering kingdoms! He accordingly recommended to the choice of the Poliſh diet, aſſembled at Warſaw, Staniſlaus Leczinſki, Palatine of Poſnania, who was immediately raiſed to the throne [64].

WHAT time Charles XII. was thus impoſing a king on the vanquiſhed Poles, and the Daniſh monarch durſt not preſume to create him any diſturbance; while the new king of Pruſſia courted his friendſhip, and his antagoniſt Auguſtus was forced to take refuge in his hereditary dominions, the czar Peter was growing every day more formidable. Though he had given the king of Poland but little immediate aſſiſtance, he had made a powerful diverſion in Ingria; and was now not only become a good ſoldier himſelf, but had inſtructed his ſubjects in the art of war. He had able engineers, well ſerved artillery, and experienced officers: diſcipline was eſtabliſhed among his troops; and he had acquired the great ſecret of ſubſiſting his armies. In conſequence of theſe improvements, he took

64. Voltaire, *Hiſt. Charles XII.* liv. iii.

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Narva by aſſault, on the 21ſt of Auguſt 1704, after a regular ſiege, during which he had prevented it from receiving any ſuccours, either by ſea or land. Nor was this his only glory. The Ruſſians were no ſooner maſters of the city, than they began to pillage it, and abandoned themſelves to the moſt enormous barbarities. The czar flew from place to place, to ſtop the plunder and carnage; and having killed two ſoldiers, who refuſed to obey his orders, he entered the town-houſe, and laying his ſword, yet reeking with gore, upon the table, ſaid to the magiſtrates, "This wea-"pon is not ſtained with the blood of your fellow-"citizens, but with that of my own people, which "I have ſhed to ſave your lives [65].

HAD Peter always paid the ſame attention to the rights of humanity, his character would have ſtood fairer in the annals of hiſtory. And for his honour it muſt be recorded, that, at the ſame time he was thus ſaving one city from deſtruction, he was employed in erecting another, not far from Narva, in the heart of his new conqueſts; namely Peterſburg, which he afterward made the place of his reſidence, and the centre of his trade. That city is ſituated between Finland and Ingria, in a marſhy iſland, around which the Neva divides itſelf into ſeveral branches, before it falls into the Gulf of Finland.

THIS deſert and uncultivated iſland, which, during the ſhort ſummer in thoſe regions, was only a heap of mud, and in winter a frozen pool, into which there was no entrance on the land ſide, but through pathleſs foreſts and deep moraſſes, and which had been the haunt of wolves and bears, was filled, in 1703, with

65. Voltaire, *Hiſt. Ruſ.* chap. xii. *Hiſt. Charles XII.* liv. iii.

above three hundred thouſand men, whom the czar brought thither from other parts of his dominions. The peaſants of Aſtracan, and thoſe who dwelt on the frontiers of China, were tranſported to Peterſburg; and the czar was obliged to clear foreſts, to make roads, to drain marſhes, and to raiſe mounds before they could lay the foundations of his future capital. The whole was a violence upon nature. Peter was determined to people a country that did not ſeem deſigned for the habitation of men; and neither the inundation that demoliſhed his works, nor the ſterility of the ſoil, nor the ignorance of the workmen, nor even the mortality which carried off near two hundred thouſand men in the beginning of the undertaking, could divert him from his purpoſe. By a proper diſtribution of favours, he drew many ſtrangers to the new city; beſtowing lands upon ſome, houſes upon others, and encouraging by the moſt liberal rewards artiſts of every deſcription. Above all, he rendered it proof againſt the utmoſt efforts of his enemies; ſo that the Swediſh generals, who frequently beat his troops, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſee, were never able to hurt this infant eſtabliſhment. Peterſburg remained in perfect ſecurity amid the deſtructive war by which it was ſurrounded [66].

LETTER XIX.

A. D. 1706.

WHILE the czar was employed in erecting a new capital, and in creating, as it were, a new people, he ſtill held out a helping hand to the fugitive Auguſtus, who had again found his way into Poland; had retaken Warſaw, and been obliged a ſecond time to abandon it. Peter invited him to Grodno, in order to concert meaſures for retrieving his affairs. To that place Auguſtus repaired in December 1705; and being

66. Id. ibid.

PART II. A. D. 1706.

no longer afraid of exaſperating the Poles, by the introduction of foreigners into their country, as they had already done their worſt againſt him, it was reſolved that ſixty thouſand Ruſſians ſhould attack the Swedes in their late conqueſts. This prodigious force ſoon entered Poland; and dividing into ſeveral bodies, laid waſte with fire and ſword the lands of all the Palatines, who had declared for Staniſlaus. An army of Coſſacks alſo entered the Poliſh territories, and ſpread deſolation on every ſide, with all the fury of barbarians. And general Schullemberg, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the paſſage of the Oder, in ſight of the king of Sweden, and by a retreat eſteemed equal to a victory, even by Charles himſelf, was advancing with an army of Saxons [67].

If ſucceſs had depended upon numbers, the Swediſh monarch muſt now have been cruſhed. But his uſual good fortune, the effect of his active and enterpriſing ſpirit, ſtill attended him. The Ruſſian armies were attacked and defeated ſo faſt, that the laſt was routed before it had heard of the diſaſter of the firſt. Nothing could ſtop the progreſs of the conquering Swedes, or equal their celerity. If a river interpoſed, they ſwam acroſs it; and Charles, at the head of his cavalry, marched thirty leagues in twenty-four hours [68]. Struck with terror at ſuch rapid movements, which to them appeared altogether miraculous, and reduced to a ſmall number, by their various defeats, the Ruſſians retired beyond the Boriſthenes, leaving Auguſtus to his fate [69].

67. Voltaire. *Contin.* Puffend. Parthenay. 68. Every ſoldier leading a horſe in his hand to mount when his own was tired. Voltaire, *Hiſt. Ch. XII.* liv. iii. 69. Id. ibid.

In

LETTER XXI.

A. D. 1706.

In the mean time Schullemberg, having repaſſed the Oder, offered battle to mareſchal Renchild, who was reckoned the king of Sweden's beſt general, and called the Parmenio of the Alexander of the North. Theſe two great commanders met on the 13th of February 1706, at a place called Travanſtad. Renchild had only thirteen battalions, and twenty-two ſquadrons, making in all about ten thouſand men; Schullemberg had more than double that number, yet was he defeated with great ſlaughter. Seven thouſand Ruſſians and Saxons were killed on the ſpot; eight thouſand were made priſoners; and all their artillery, baggage, ammunition, and proviſions, fell into the hands of the victors[70]. No quarter was granted to the Ruſſians.

In order to put an end to the troubles of Poland, where, by reaſon of its deſolate ſtate, his army could no longer ſubſiſt, Charles now propoſed to carry the war into the hereditary dominions of Auguſtus. He accordingly directed his march toward Sileſia; paſſed the Oder; entered Saxony, with twenty-four thouſand men; and having laid the whole country under contribution, pitched his camp at Alt-Ranſtadt, near the plains of Lutzen, rendered famous by the memorable victory and death of Guſtavus Adolphus. Unable to contend with ſo powerful an adverſary, already in the heart of his dominions, Auguſtus was under the neceſſity of ſuing for peace. He obtained it, but on the moſt humiliating terms; being forced to renounce for ever all pretenſions to the crown of Poland, and to acknowledge Staniſlaus lawful ſovereign of that kingdom[71]. When his plenipotentiaries endeavoured to procure ſome mitigation of the rigour of theſe

70. *Hiſt. du Nord*, tom. ii. Voltaire, ubi ſup. *Ch. XII*, liv. iii.

71. Voltaire, *Hiſt.*

conditions,

PART II. A. D. 1706. conditions, they were conſtantly anſwered by count Piper, "Such is the will of my maſter: and he never "alters his reſolution[72]!"

THE march of the king of Sweden into Germany, his victories during the courſe of the war, and the arbitrary manner in which he had depoſed Auguſtus, filled all Europe with hopes of his friendſhip, or apprehenſions from his power. France courted his alliance with an ardour proportioned to the diſtreſſed ſtate of her affairs. Offended at his groſs violation of the privileges of the Germanic body, the diet at Ratiſbon ſhewed a diſpoſition to declare him an enemy of the empire; but the emperor Joſeph, dreading the effects of ſuch a meaſure, employed all his influence to oppoſe it, at the ſame that he endeavoured to ſoften any reſentment which it might excite in the breaſt of the northern conqueror, by flattering his pride. Charles was pleaſed with theſe attentions, without being ſwayed by them. Wholly occupied with the great project of humbling his other antagoniſt, the czar Peter, and even of reducing him to the ſame abject condition into which he had already brought Auguſtus, he diſregarded all the ſolicitations of France, and ſeemed to favour the views of the emperor, without having any attachment to his intereſt.

LEWIS XIV. thus diſappointed in his hopes of engaging the king of Sweden in his cauſe, and broken in ſpirit by misfortunes, began ſeriouſly to think of putting an end to a war, which had brought accumulated diſgrace upon his arms, and the deepeſt diſtreſs upon his ſubjects. Having privately made ſome ineffectual applications to the miniſters of Holland,

72. Id. ibid.

he

he reſolved publicly to manifeſt his earneſt deſire of peace; and ordered, for that purpoſe, the elector of Bavaria to write letters to the duke of Marlborough and the field-deputies of the States, propoſing a general congreſs. As a proof of his ſincerity, he mentioned at once the ſacrifices he was willing to make. He offered all the Spaniſh dominions in Italy to the archduke Charles; to the States, a barrier in the Netherlands; and to the duke of Savoy, a compenſation for the waſte made by the war in his territories. In return for ſuch liberal conceſſions, he demanded, that the electorate of Bavaria ſhould be reſtored to its native prince, and that Philip V. ſhould be allowed to poſſeſs Spain and her American dominions[73]; or, in the lofty language of the proud Caſtilians, Spain and the Indies[74].

THE confederates, by concluding a peace on theſe terms, and others which they might have dictated, but eſpecially the perpetual diſunion of the crowns of France and Spain, would have obtained the chief objects of the Grand Alliance; yet was the offer, though ſurely a ſufficient foundation for entering upon a negociation, wantonly rejected, and Europe deſtined to remain, for many years longer, a ſcene of carnage, confuſion, and diſtreſs, in order to gratify the paſſions of a few ambitious and ſelfiſh men. The duke of Marlborough was fond of the emoluments as well as the glory of war: prince Eugene, beſide being under the influence

73. Burnet, book vii. 74. This mode of ſpeaking ſeems to have been introduced, when the Spaniards were in poſſeſſion of the Portugueſe ſettlements in India, where all other Europeans were long conſidered as intruders; and when Spain aſſerted an excluſive right to the whole American continent, as well as to the contiguous iſlands, to which ſhe gave the name of the *Weſt Indies*. Hence too, by a ſtill more ridiculous vanity, the Spaniſh monarchs ſtill aſſume the title of "King "of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies."

of

PART II. A. D. 1706.

of ſimilar motives, was actuated by an implacable reſentment againſt France; and the penſionary Heinſius, who led the councils of the ſtates, yielded to his own intereſt, while he acted in ſubſerviency to thoſe two generals. Theſe were the three great ſprings that now directed the Grand Alliance: and the motion communicated by their joint impulſe, was accelerated by the torrent of victory. The views of the allies extended with their ſucceſſes. Having humbled France, they aſpired at the conqueſt of Spain. It was accordingly reſolved, That no peace ſhould be made with the houſe of Bourbon, while a prince of that houſe continued to ſit upon the Spaniſh throne [75].

THUS

75. "I do not remember," ſays my lord Bolingbroke, "any *parliamentary declaration* for *continuing* the *war* till Philip V. ſhould be *dethroned*, before the year 1706: and then ſuch a declaration was judged "neceſſary to ſecond the reſolution of our miniſters and our allies, in "departing from the principles of the Grand Alliance, and in propoſing "not only the *reduction* of the French, but the *conqueſt* of the Spaniſh "monarchy, as the object of the war." (*Sketch of the Hiſt. and State of Europe.*) And, little faith as is placed in the hiſtorical teſtimony of Bolingbroke, he ſeems here to have truth on his ſide, notwithſtanding what has been advanced to the contrary by Lord Walpole; who endeavours to prove, That although the king of England, and the States-general of the United Provinces had acknowledged Philip V. to be lawful king of Spain, in virtue of the will of his predeceſſor Charles II. the *primary object* of the Grand Alliance was to *deprive him of the throne of that Kingdom*, and placed upon it a prince of the houſe of Auſtria. (*Anſwer to the latter Part of Lord Bolingbroke's Letters on the Study of Hiſtory.*) That ſuch was the aim of the imperial family is very certain; but England and Holland, as I have already had occaſion to ſhew, (Lett. XX.) refuſed to engage for ſo much. In afterward going that length, they conſequently altered, or enlarged their plan. What is farther neceſſary to be obſerved on this intricate ſubject, may be found in the reflections introductory to the negociations at Utrecht (Letter XXIII.) Though a well-wiſher to the cauſe of the Confederates, I ſcorn to conceal their errors or inconſiſtencies. No ſtipulation was originally made, in any article of the Grand Alliance, that a prince of the houſe of Bourbon ſhould *not* be allowed to ſit on the throne of Spain, or *not* poſſeſs, together with that kingdom, the Spaniſh dominions in America.

But

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A. D. 1706.

THUS, my dear Philip, were the objects of this confederacy in a great measure changed; and, in order to form a true judgment of the whole, you must consider very attentively the new plan, and compare it with the original plan of the Grand Alliance, relatively to the general interests of Europe, and the particular interest of your own country. You will then, I think, be of opinion, That the war was wise and just before this change, because necessary to maintain that equality among the powers of Europe on which their peace and common prosperity depend; but that it was unwise and unjust, after this change, because unnecessary to such end, and directed to other and contrary ends. After this change, it became a war of passion, of ambition, of avarice, and of private interest, to which the general interests of Europe were sacrificed so entirely, that, if the terms insisted on by the confederates had been granted, such a new system of power would have been created as must have exposed the balance of that power to deviations, not inferior to those which the war was originally intended to prevent[76].

WHILST we reprobate this ambitious scheme, considered in a general view, we find particular occasion to lament the fate of Great Britain in the midst of

But on the accession of Savoy and Portugal to the Grand Alliance, the Confederates began to extend their views; and, in consequence of the successes of the war, from 1703 to 1706, was formed the resolution, which made these observations necessary.

76. The emperor Joseph, who died a few years after, was then without male issue. And the union of the kigdoms of Spain and Hungary with the German and Italian dominions of the house of Austria, in the person of the archduke Charles, supported by the wealth of the American mines, would have been no less dangerous to the liberties of Europe, independent of the weight of the imperial crown, than the union of the French and Spanish monarchies under Philip V. or his descendants.

triumphs

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triumphs that have been founded ſo high. Victories that bring honour to the arms, may bring ſhame to the councils of a nation. To win a battle, to take a town, is the glory of a commander, and of an army. Of this glory we had a very large ſhare. But the wiſdom of a nation is to proportion the ends ſhe propoſes to her intereſt and her ſtrength. Great Britain neither expected nor deſired any thing beyond what ſhe might have obtained, by adhering to the firſt principles of the Grand Alliance. But ſhe was hurried into thoſe of the new plan by the cauſes which I have already mentioned; by the prejudices and the raſhneſs of party; by the influence which the ſucceſſes of the arms of the confederates gave to our miniſters, Godolphin and Marlborough; and by the popularity, if I may ſo ſpeak, which they gave to the war itſelf. The people were unwilling to put an end to a conteſt that afforded ſo many occaſions of public rejoicing, and ſo wide a range for national pride.

THE Engliſh miniſtry, however, though thus laviſh of the blood and treaſure of the nation, in ſupport of unneceſſary foreign wars, were by no means negligent of its internal tranquillity and happineſs. That UNION of England and Scotland, under one legiſlature, which had, as we have ſeen, been often attempted in vain, was at laſt accompliſhed, after long and warm debates between the commiſſioners of the two kingdoms; and, in conſequence of it, all diſputes concerning the Scottiſh crown were fortunately prevented.

THE principal Articles in that famous treaty are to the following purport: "That the TWO Kingdoms "of ENGLAND and SCOTLAND ſhall be *united* into "ONE, by the name of GREAT BRITAIN;

"THAT

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"THAT the SUCCESSION to the United Kingdom "shall remain to the Princeſs SOPHIA, Ducheſs "Dowager of HANOVER, and the Heirs of her Body, "being *Proteſtants*:—And that all *Papiſts*, and *Perſons* "*marrying Papiſts* ſhall be *excluded* from, and for ever "*incapable* to *inherit* the CROWN of GREAT BRI-"TAIN, or any part of the Dominions thereunto be-"longing;

"THAT the *whole People* of GREAT BRITAIN ſhall "be *repreſented* by ONE Parliament, in which *ſixteen* "Peers, and *forty-five* Commoners, choſen for SCOT-"LAND, ſhall *ſit* and *vote*;

"THAT the *Subjects* of the United Kingdom ſhall "*enjoy* an *entire freedom* and *intercourſe* of *Trade* and "*Navigation*, and *reciprocal communication* of all other "*Rights*, *Privileges*, and *Advantages*, belonging to the "Subjects of either Kingdom;

"THAT the *Laws* in regard to *Public Right*, *Policy*, "and *Civil Government*, ſhall be *the ſame throughout the* "*whole United Kingdom*; but that *no alteration ſhall be* "*made* in the *Laws* reſpecting *Private Right*, unleſs "for the evident *utility* of the *Subjects* reſiding in "*Scotland*;

"THAT the *Rights* and *Privileges* of the ROYAL "BOROUGHS in SCOTLAND ſhall not be affected by "the UNION;

"THAT the COURT of SESSION, or COLLEGE "of JUSTICE, with all the other *Courts of Judicature* "in SCOTLAND ſhall *remain* as *conſtituted* by the Laws "of *that* Kingdom, and with the ſame *Authority* and

"*Privileges*

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"*Privileges* as before the UNION; ſubject nevertheleſs to ſuch *Regulations* as may be *made* by the *Parliament* of GREAT BRITAIN.

BESIDE theſe general and permanent Articles, it was particularly ſtipulated, That the ſum of three hundred and ninety-eight thouſand pounds, granted by the Engliſh parliament, ſhould be paid to Scotland, as an equivalent for that *Augmentation* of the Cuſtoms and Exciſe, which was become neceſſary "for preſerving an equality of Trade throughout the "United Kingdom," and which would be *applicable* toward the *Payment* of the *Public Debt* of England, contracted before the UNION; this ſum to be applied, partly toward the *extinction* of the *National Debt* of SCOTLAND, partly toward the *indemnification* of the *Adventurers* in the AFFRICAN and INDIAN or DARIEN COMPANY; and the reſidue, after the *Reimburſement* of ſuch individuals as might ſuffer by the *Reduction* (or rather *Elevation*) of the *Coin* of SCOTLAND to the *Standard* of ENGLAND, in encouraging Fiſheries and Manufactures in that Kingdom[77].

THOUGH this treaty, all circumſtances conſidered, was neither diſhonourable nor diſadvantageous to Scotland, yet was it zealouſly oppoſed, not only by the adherents of the excluded family, whoſe particular intereſt it was to obſtruct ſuch a meaſure, but alſo by many independent members of the Scottiſh parliament, on principles of mere patriotiſm. Of thoſe, the moſt firm and reſolute was Andrew Fletcher of Salton; a man of a cultivated genius, of a warm temper, a lofty courage, a bold eloquence, and an

77. See Defoe's *Hiſt. of the Union*, where the Articles are printed at large, with all the arguments for and againſt them.

incorruptible

incorruptible integrity. Finding all his efforts ineffectual, to prevent the paſſing of the Act of Union, and believing it impoſſible that a majority of his countrymen could ever have been brought to conſent to the annihilation of their ancient monarchy without the influence of Engliſh gold, he reſolved to quit the kingdom, that he might not ſhare in their reproach, by condeſcending ſo far as to live among them. On the day of his departure, his friends crowded around him, intreating him to ſtay. Even after his foot was in the ſtirrup, they continued their ſolicitations, anxiouſly crying, "Will you forſake "your country?" He reverted his head, and darting on them a look of indignation, keenly replied, "It is only fit for the ſlaves that ſold it!" then leaped into the ſaddle, and put ſpurs to his horſe[68]; leaving the whole company ſtruck with a momentary humiliation, and (blind to the extravagance of his conduct) at a loſs which moſt to admire, the pride of his virtue or the elevation of his ſpirit.

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THAT ſome of the evils, foretold by the Scottiſh patriots at the Union, have ſince overtaken their countrymen, cannot be denied; particularly the accumulation of taxes, in conſequence of the growth of the Engliſh national debt, which then amounted only to about twenty millions, and the multiplication of the herd of inſolent revenue officers. Yet have the Scots, from that æra, enjoyed more happineſs, as a people, and riſen to more wealth and conſequence, as individuals, than they could poſſibly have attained in their diſunited ſtate.

68. This anecdote the Author had from the late Patrick, lord Elibank.

PART II. A. D. 1706.

NOR has England reaſon to complain of the Union. Inſtead of turbulent neighbours, ſhe has gained, by communicating her privileges to the Scots, hardy ſoldiers to fight her battles, and induſtrious workmen in every branch of manufacture. She has ſecured for ever the undivided ſovereignty of Great Britain, and the liberties of Engliſhmen, againſt the uſurpations of foreign or domeſtic ambition, by making the conſervation of that ſovereignty, and thoſe liberties, the common intereſt of all the brave and free ſubjects of the UNITED KINGDOM.

LETTER XXII.

The General View of EUROPE *continued, from the Refuſal of the Offers of Peace made by* FRANCE, *in* 1706, *to the Conferences held at* GERTRUYDENBERG *in* 1710.

LETTER XXII. A.D. 1706.

LEWIS XIV. finding all his offers of peace rejected with diſdain by the confederates, prepared himſelf to brave, once more, that ſtorm which he could not diſpel. In order to ſupply the want of money, he iſſued bills upon the mint, to a very large amount, in imitation of the exchequer bills circulated by the Engliſh government; but, by refuſing to take thoſe bills in payment of the taxes, he threw them into ſuch diſcredit, that, after every expedient to raiſe their value had been tried, they remained at a diſcount of more than fifty *per cent.* He was therefore obliged, on the failure of this deſperate reſource, which augmented the diſtreſs of his people at the ſame time that it weakened their confidence in the crown,

crown, to continue the practice of burthenſome loans, and to anticipate the royal revenue [1]. LETTER XXII.

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But Lewis, notwithſtanding theſe diſadvantages, was enabled to make very conſiderable preparations, for oppoſing the efforts of his victorious enemies. He extended a line of militia along the coaſts of the Channel, and the ſhores of the Mediterranean: he formed an army in Flanders, under the duke de Vendome; another was collected by mareſchal Villars, in the neighbourhood of Straſburg; a body of men was ordered to aſſemble in Navarre, a ſecond in Rouſſillon; and large reinforcements were ſent to the army of the duke of Berwick in Spain [2]. Theſe reinforcements were partly furniſhed in conſequence of freſh, but not unexpected, diſaſters in Italy. The French troops, to the number of fifteen thouſand, being obliged to evacuate Lombardy, by a capitulation ſigned in the beginning of March, were diſpatched to the aſſiſtance of Philip V. Modena and Milan ſurrendered ſucceſſively to the allies: the whole kingdom of Naples was reduced; and the few places in the dominions of the duke of Savoy, that were ſtill held by French or Spaniſh garriſons, fell one by one before the cloſe of the campaign [3]. A. D. 1707.

The fortune of the war was very different in Spain. There the Allies, more through their own miſconduct than the ſtrength of the enemy, received a dreadful overthrow. Charles III. pretending that Catalonia was in danger, ſeparated himſelf, with a large detachment, from the principal army, commanded by the earl of Galway and the marquis de las Minas; who,

1. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xxviii. *Finances.* par P. Daniel. Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii. *Siecle*, chap. xx.

2. Contin. *Hiſt. de France*, 3. Id. ibid. Voltaire,

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having exhauſted all their proviſions in Valencia, attempted to penetrate into New Caſtile. With this view, they paſſed the river Xucar, and marched toward Almanza. The duke of Berwick, who was juſt arrived at that place, heſitated not a moment to give them battle. Ignorant of the ſuccours he had received, the confederates eagerly advanced to the charge, flushed with former victories, and animated with hopes of new ſucceſs. The action ſoon became general, and the field was obſtinately diſputed. The Engliſh and Dutch infantry penetrated through the centre of the enemy, and proceeded as far as the walls of Almanza. Meantime the French and Spaniſh cavalry, on the right wing, twice broke the horſe of the allies, and were as often repulſed by their foot, under cover of which the horſe rallied. In order to overcome this difficulty, the duke of Berwick ordered a body of infantry to advance to the aſſiſtance of his cavalry on the right. A vigorous charge was given, by both horſe and foot at the ſame time. The left wing of the allies was totally routed: and their right, which had hitherto maintained its ground, being flanked by the right of the enemy, was broken and diſperſed; while their gallant infantry in the centre, where they had carried every thing before them, in attempting to retreat, on ſeeing the defeat of their two wings, were ſurrounded by the enemy's cavalry, and almoſt all cut to pieces [4].

No victory was ever more complete than that gained by the duke of Berwick at Almanza. Five thouſand of the confederates were ſlain, and near ten thouſand made priſoners. Among the latter were ſix major-generals, as many brigadiers, twenty colonels, and a

4. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i. Burnet, book vii.

proportional

proportional number of inferior officers, ſaid to amount to eight hundred. All the artillery of the vanquiſhed, moſt of their baggage, with one hundred and twenty colours and ſtandards, fell into the hands of the victors[5]. Las Minas, who was run through the arm, and who had ſeen his miſtreſs, fighting in the habit of an Amazon, killed by his ſide, eſcaped to Xativa; and the earl of Galway, who had received two cuts in the face, ſtopt not his flight till he arrived at Tortoſa, near the mouth of the Ebro[6].

LETTER XXII. A. D. 1707.

THE duke of Orleans, who aſſumed the command of the French army the day after the battle of Almanza, did not neglect the opportunity which fortune and the abilities of the duke of Berwick had procured him, of retrieving the affairs of his family in Spain. He reduced the city, and recovered the whole kingdom of Valencia: he directed his march into Arragon, and reduced Saragoſſa and Lerida under the dominion of Philip V. before the cloſe of the campaign; while Charles III. either loitered in Catalonia, or made unimportant excurſions toward the frontiers of Rouſſillon[7].

THE

5. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i, *Univ. Hiſt.* vol. vii. fol. edit.

6. *Hiſt. Gen. d'Eſpagne. Mod.*

7. Duke of Berwick, ubi ſup. "I muſt not here omit," ſays this intelligent obſerver of mankind, "a ſingular circumſtance. The count de la Puebla, who commanded in Saragoſſa, made the inhabitants believe, that the reports "raiſed concerning a new army coming from Navarre were falſe, and "even that the camp, which appeared, was nothing more than a "phantom formed by magic art. In this perſuaſion, the clergy "went in proceſſion upon the ramparts; and from that eminent ſituation, after a number of prayers, exorciſed the pretended ſpectres that "were in ſight!—It is not a little ſurprizing," adds he, "that the "people could be ſo credulous as to adopt ſuch an idea. But they "were ſoon undeceived by the huſſars of the army of the duke of

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THE affairs of the confederates did not wear a more favourable aſpect in Germany. The continuance of the rebellion in Hungary, combined with the habitual inactivity of the court of Vienna, and the ſluggiſhneſs of the German princes, had almoſt expoſed the empire to calamities as great as thoſe from which it was relieved by the battle of Blenheim. The margrave of Bareith, who had ſucceeded to the command of the Imperialiſts on the death of the prince of Baden, was in no condition, in the early part of the campaign, to oppoſe the French, under mareſchal Villars; who, having paſſed the Rhine at Straſburg, forced the lines of the Germans at Stolhoffen, laid the duchy of Wurtemburg under contribution, entered Suabia, and penetrated to the Danube[8].

BUT the ſuperiority of the French, in the heart of Germany, was not the only danger which the empire had now to fear. Charles XII. who had remained in Saxony during the winter, found ſome plauſible pretences for quarrelling with the court of Vienna; and although all reaſonable ſatisfaction was given him, on the ſubject of his complaints, he continued to urge them with an obſtinacy ſuitable to his character. From complaints he proceeded to demands; requiring that the Proteſtants in Sileſia ſhould be indulged with the free exerciſe of their religion, according to the treaty of Weſtphalia; that his Imperial Majeſty ſhould relinquiſh all pretenſions to the quota which the king of Sweden was bound to furniſh, by the tenure on which he poſſeſſed his German dominions; and that

"Orleans; who having briſkly purſued to the gates of the city, "a party of the count de la Puebla's cavalry, cut off ſome of their "heads!" *Mem.* vol. i.

8. Barre, *Hiſt. d'Allemagne*, tom. x. Burnet, book vii.

the

the whole Swediſh army, in its return through Sileſia into Poland, ſhould be maintained at the charge of the court of Vienna[9].

THE queen of England, though ſenſible the emperor was not in a ſituation to refuſe thoſe imperious demands, was afraid that the pride of Joſeph might overcome his attention to the intereſts of the allies[10]. She, therefore, ordered the duke of Marlborough, who was no leſs a ſtateſman and a courtier than a general, to repair to Saxony, and attempt to ſoothe the king of Sweden. When the duke arrived in the Swediſh camp at Alt-Ranſtadt, where he was received with the reſpect due to his character, he paid Charles many handſome compliments, to which no anſwer was returned, but which had notwithſtanding perhaps the deſired effect. He went even ſo far as to tell the northern conqueror, that he ſhould eſteem it a peculiar happineſs, could he have an opportunity of learning, under ſo great a commander, thoſe parts of the military ſcience which he did not yet underſtand! And having acquired, by a long courſe of experience, the art of diving into the characters of men, and of reading their moſt ſecret thoughts in their looks and geſtures, he ſoon diſcovered the inclinations and views of the king of Sweden. In the pleaſure with which he talked of the victories of the allies, Marlborough perceived his averſion againſt France; while the kindling of his eye at the name of the czar, and a map of Ruſſia lying upon

9. *Contin.* Puffend. lib. vii. Burnet, book vii.

10. The emperor, it appears, was by no means ſo haughty as the queen imagined; for, when the pope complained of his reſtoring the churches to the Proteſtants, he facetiouſly replied, "Had the king of "Sweden propoſed that I ſhould become a Lutheran myſelf, I know not "what might have been the conſequence." *Mem. de Brandenburg*, tom. i.

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his table, made this profound politician intimately acquainted with the future deſigns of Charles. He therefore took leave, without making him any propoſals; ſenſible that his diſputes with the emperor could be eaſily accommodated, as all his demands would be granted[11]. England and Holland accordingly guarantied the promiſes of the court of Vienna; and the czar having entered Poland, the king of Sweden repaſſed the Oder, in queſt of new victories, and in hopes of ſoon returning to hold the balance of Europe.

In Flanders, no event of any importance happened during this campaign, nor any thing memorable at ſea. The duke de Vendome prudently avoided an action, and made his movements with ſo much judgment, that Marlborough found no opportunity of attacking him to advantage[12]. The naval operations were chiefly confined to the ſiege of Toulon.

The reduction of the Spaniſh dominions in Italy, and the capitulation ſigned at the beginning of the campaign, in conſequence of which the French army abandoned Lombardy, having left prince Eugene and the duke of Savoy perfectly diſengaged, a plan was formed by them, in conjunction with the maritime powers, for invading France from that quarter, and of reducing Toulon or Marſeilles; an enterprize which, if attended with ſucceſs, it was hoped would put a final cloſe to the war. The prince and the duke, after having for ſome time amuſed the enemy, by a feint upon Dauphiny, in order to conceal their real deſign, accordingly turned off toward the ſhore of the

11. "Theſe particulars," ſays Voltaire, "I had from the ducheſs of "Marlborough." *Hiſt. Ch. XII.* liv. iii.

12. Burnet. book vii.

Mediter-

LETTER XXII.

A. D. 1707. July 6.

Mediterranean; forced the paſſage of the river Var; proceeded along the coaſt of Provence; and arrrived, by a long and difficult march, before Toulon; while Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, with a formidable fleet, attended their motions, ſupplied the army with neceſſaries, and blocked up the town by ſea [13].

UNFORTUNATELY for the allies, only two hours before prince Eugene appeared with the van of the Imperialiſts, the French had found means to throw eight thouſand men into Toulon. They had taken poſſeſſion of all the eminences that commanded the city; and the confederates, in attempting to gain theſe, were either repulſed with great ſlaughter, or obliged to acquire and maintain them, at a ſtill greater expence of blood. Diſcouraged by circumſtances ſo adverſe, by the bad condition of their army, the want of concert in their operations, and apprehenſive of being ſurrounded by a ſuperior force, as the French were in motion on every ſide, the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene judged it prudent to abandon their enterpriſe, though ſenſible that the hopes and fears of all Europe hung ſuſpended on its iſſue [14]. But this expedition, though finally unſucceſsful, was extremely detrimental to France. The confederates, in their paſſage and return through Provence, ruined a vaſt extent of country. And the detachments drawn from the army of mareſchal Villars, in order to ſuccour Toulon, obliged him to relinquiſh all his high projects in Germany, and to repaſs the Rhine, inſtead of advancing beyond the Danube [15].

THE failure of the attempt upon Toulon, however, the inactive campaign in Flanders, and the misfor-

13. Id. ibid. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xx. 14. Burnet, book vii. Voltaire, ubi ſup. 15. Barre. Burnet. Voltaire.

tunes

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tunes of the confederates in Spain, furniſhed the enemies of the duke of Marlborough and of the lord treaſurer Godolphin with plauſible pretexts for diſcrediting their meaſures: and intrigues were formed for overturning their adminiſtration. Theſe intrigues were chiefly conducted by Mr. Secretary Harley, who had acquired a very conſiderable ſhare of the queen's confidence, by flattering her political prejudices; and who, in order to ſtrengthen his own intereſt, had ſecured the ſupport of Mrs. Maſham, a new female favourite, who had partly ſupplanted the ducheſs of Marlborough in the affections of the queen,[16]; or rather in that aſcendant, though ſhe did not uſurp the ſame abſolute dominion, which the ducheſs had eſtabliſhed over the mind of her timid miſtreſs.

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Apprised of the ſcheme that was formed for their ruin, Marlborough and Godolphin complained of Harley's intrigues to the queen; and not meeting with a ſatisfactory anſwer, they both threatened to reſign their places, and abſented themſelves from the cabinet council. The council was ſtruck with conſternation. Even the ſecretary ſhrunk from the load that was ready to fall on his ſhoulders. And the queen, from fear not regard, recalled her miniſters, and diſmiſſed Harley, whoſe fortune his friend St. John, ſecretary at war, and others choſe to follow, by reſigning their places; yet not without hopes of having it one day in their power to govern the councils of their ſovereign by foſtering her affection for the excluded branch of her family, and increaſing her ſecret averſion againſt the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hanover[17].

16. Burnet, book vii.

17. Id. Ibid. See alſo *Stuart Papers.*

This

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THIS diviſion in the Engliſh cabinet, and the diſcontents in Scotland, occaſioned by the Union, encouraged Lewis XIV. to make an attempt in favour of the pretended prince of Wales, whom he had acknowledged by the title of James III. not doubting but he ſhould be able, at leaſt, to create ſuch diſtractions in Great Britain as would weaken the efforts of the allies in Flanders. To that attempt Lewis was farther incited by the eager ſolicitations of the Scottiſh Jacobites, who offered to raiſe and equip thirty thouſand men, at their own expence, and to furniſh them with proviſions until they could march into England [18].

IN conſequence of theſe magnificent promiſes, the Pretender, under the name of the Chevalier de St. George, ſailed from Dunkirk on board a French fleet, commanded by M. de Fourben, with between five and ſix thouſand land forces, ten thouſand muſkets, and a ſupply of other implements of war. Their purpoſe was to enter the Frith of Forth, and land in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. But, through the ignorance or inattention of their pilots, they overſhot their deſtination; and before they could recover their miſtake, Sir George Byng, with a ſuperior Engliſh fleet, had taken poſſeſſion of the Frith [19]. Seeing now no proſpect of ſucceſs, and afraid of the capture of his whole ſquadron, the French admiral returned to Dunkirk, with the loſs of only one ſhip, but to the utter confuſion of the hopes of the Pretender and his adherents, both in France and Great Britain [20].

THE

18. Hook's *Negociations*. 19. Burnet, book vii. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i. 20. It is truly amuſing to obſerve the extravagance of the Jacobite writers in ſpeaking of this intended invaſion. They confidently affirm, That if the Pretender could have landed in Scotland, with only the appearance of an army, he would ſoon have been enabled to march into

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THE Engliſh miniſtry, in concert with the parliament, took the moſt vigorous meaſures for repelling the intended invaſion, as well as for continuing the war. And no ſooner had all apprehenſions of danger ceaſed, than the duke of Marlborough, the great pillar of the nation, and the chief ſupport of the Grand Alliance, went over to Flanders, in order to command the confederate army, in conjunction with prince Eugene; who, in the beginning of the campaign, had headed a ſeparate army upon the Rhine. The French army, commanded by the duke de Vendome in the name of the duke of Burgundy, though more numerous than that of the confederates, ſtudiouſly avoided an action, or any hoſtile attempt; until
July 5. by treachery, under the appearance of ſurpriſe, they got poſſeſſion of Ghent and Bruges. The duke of Marlborough, accuſed of being privy to this treachery,

into England, in ſpite of all oppoſition; and by the junction of his Engliſh and Scottiſh adherents, to have given law to a princeſs, who was giving law to Europe! Nay, they do not ſcruple to declare, that the queen's affection for her brother was ſo great, that on his approach, with a reſpectable force, ſhe would readily have conſented to the breaking of the Union, and to his immediate acceſſion to the Scottiſh crown, that ſhe might have a more certain proſpect of tranſmitting to him the crown of England; not reflecting that his natural right to both crowns was preferable to hers, and therefore, that any attempt to claim either, in her life-time, muſt have excited the higheſt jealouſy. The ſame writers, in the madneſs of rage at their cruel diſappointment, even aſſert, that Lewis XIV. gave Forben poſitive orders not to land the troops which he had ordered him to embark; though by their embarkation, which he was under no neceſſity of ordering, and the voyage to Scotland, in conſequence of it, he hazarded the loſs of a very conſiderable armament! (See Macpherſon's *Hiſt. of Great Britain*, vol. ii. where the reveries of all the Jacobite writers may be found.) Theſe are ſhocking abſurdities: but it is the unhappineſs of party writers in general, and particularly of the abettors of the rights of the unfortunate family of Stuart, to pay little regard to truth, to reaſon, or probability, in the vehement proſecution of their arguments; to the proofs founded on facts, or thoſe ariſing from circumſtances.

demon-

demonſtrated by his conduct the injuſtice of the aſperſion. Though not yet joined by prince Eugene's army, but aſſiſted by the advice of that conſummate general, he paſſed the Scheld, by a forced march, and came up with the enemy near Oudenarde. They could no longer decline a battle; and their ſituation and ſuperiority in numbers ſeemed to inſure them ſucceſs. LETTER XXII. A. D. 1708.

THE Scheld, and ſeveral incloſures, covered the left wing of the French army. A moraſs lay along the hoſtile front; and on a riſing ground, on their right, the enemy placed their cavalry, interlined with parties of foot. The infantry of the allies, advancing acroſs the moraſs, were received with great firmneſs by the French foot. But the Britiſh cavalry broke the French horſe at the firſt ſhock, and the foot intermixed with the ſquadrons were cut in pieces on the ſpot. Meantime the French infantry behind the moraſs had ſtood their ground againſt all the efforts of the confederates. In order, however, to avoid being flanked by the Britiſh cavalry, now triumphant, they ſheltered themſelves in the incloſures on the banks of the Scheld; and, although the approach of darkneſs prevented the defeat from becoming general, the fears and miſconduct of the enemy yielded to the allies all the advantages of a complete victory. So great was their panic and confuſion, that, while the confederates expected nothing but a renewal of the action next morning, the vanquiſhed retreated by five different routes in the night; and that diſgraceful and diſorderly flight, by breaking the ſpirit of the ſoldiers, rendered all the operations of the French timid, during the reſt of the campaign [21]. Though they preſerved their July 11

21. Feuquieres. Burnet. Voltaire.

cannon

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cannon and baggage, they loſt by this defeat about twenty thouſand men: they had five thouſand killed, nine thouſand taken priſoners, and near ſix thouſand deſerted [22].

IMMEDIATELY after the battle of Oudenarde, the French were reinforced by a ſtrong detachment, under the duke of Berwick, from the Rhine; and the confederates were joined by prince Eugene's army, which eſcorted a grand convoy. This convoy the duke of Berwick, whoſe troops arrived firſt, propoſed to attack; but that propoſal, as well as every other which he made during the campaign, was rejected by the duke de Vendome, either from jealouſy or timidity [23]. In conſequence of the ſafe arrival of the convoy, and the troops that guarded it, the ſiege of Liſle, the principal city in French Flanders, and the ſecond in the dominions of Lewis XIV. the key of the kingdom, fortified with all the art of Vauban,

Auguſt 22. was undertaken by prince Eugene; while Marlborough lay encamped in the neighbourhood, in order to prevent the enemy from interrupting the operations, and to forward the neceſſary ſupplies to the beſiegers [24].

No town was ever, perhaps, more vigorouſly attacked or defended than Liſle; into which the mareſchal de Bouffiers, an old experienced officer, had thrown himſelf, with ſome of the beſt troops of France. The garriſon conſiſted of about twelve thouſand men, the beſiegers of at leaſt thirty thou-

22. Burnet, book vii. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i. 23. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. i. As none of theſe propoſals were embraced, it is impoſſible to ſay, what ſucceſs might have attended them; but military men, in general, ſeem to be of opinion, that moſt of the meaſures ſuggeſted were highly worthy of being adopted. 24. Burnet, book vii. Duke of Berwick, vol. i.

ſand. None of the works were carried without an obſtinate ſtruggle; and ſcarce were the aſſailants maſters of one place, when they were driven from another, and in danger of loſing all their former advantages, gained at a prodigious expence of blood and valour. Yet ſtill they perſevered, and by perſeverance advanced their progreſs. Meanwhile Vendome endeavoured to diſtreſs them by cutting off their convoys. But in that ſervice he moſt unaccountably failed, as well as in all his attempts to relieve the place; ſo that Boufflers, after a gallant defence of two months, was obliged to ſurrender Liſle. He retired into the citadel, which was alſo forced to capitulate, and Ghent and Bruges were recovered before the cloſe of the campaign[25]. A.D. 1708. Oct. 23.

No event of any importance happened in Germany during the ſummer. The electors of Hanover and Bavaria, who were oppoſed to each other on the Upper Rhine, not being in a condition to act with effect in the field, employed themſelves chiefly in fortifying their lines; a precaution ſuggeſted by a mutual conſciouſneſs of their weakneſs[26]. On the ſide of Italy,

25. Id. ibid. The duke of Berwick particularly inveſtigates the cauſes of the capture of Liſle. And it appears, if his advice had been followed, that the convoys of the confederates would have been effectually cut off, and perhaps prince Eugene, and even the duke of Marlborough, defeated, by the aſſiſtance of troops that might have been drawn out of the neighbouring garriſons, without their knowledge, to reinforce an already ſtrong army, by which they were ſurrounded; and which could, with ſuch reinforcement, have amuſed the one, while it gave battle to the other. It alſo appears, on the ſame authority, that Marlborough, on one occaſion, would have totally defeated Vendome, if he had not been prevented from hazarding a battle by the field-deputies of the States. See the *Duke of Berwick's Mem.* vol. i. and the *Letters* at the end of the volume, which contain many curious particulars in the military line, and fully illuſtrate the principal events of the campaign in Flanders in 1708.

26. Barre, *Hiſt. d'Allemagne*, tom. x. Burnet, book vii.

where

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where much was expected, ſome advantages were gained by the allies, but nothing ſignal was performed. The duke of Savoy who, beſide his native troops, had in his army twenty thouſand men in the pay of Great Britain and the States, had formed great and extenſive projects. He deſigned to paſs through the territories of the Swiſs, to join the troops of the empire in Alſace, and to penetrate into France on that ſide. But he was ſo vigorouſly oppoſed by mareſchal Villars, that he was happy in having opened a paſſage into the enemy's country, and ſecured his own dominions againſt the future invaſions of the French on the moſt expoſed ſide, by making himſelf maſter of Exilles, La Perouſe, and Feneſtrelles [27].

THE confederates were yet leſs ſucceſsful in Spain. There the houſe of Bourbon had two armies in the field, on the ſide of Catalonia; one under the duke of Orleans, another led by the duke de Noailles: and a third army in Eſtremadura, commanded by the marquis de Bay. Though Charles III. had not a ſufficient force to enable him to face the duke of Orleans in the field, the latter was prevented, by the unprovided condition of his army, from making ſuch progreſs as might have been feared. He took, however, Tortoſa in the month of July; and Dania and Alicant, in the province of Valencia, fell into the hands of the French before the cloſe of the campaign. The duke de Noailles, oppoſed by the prince of Darmſtadt, performed nothing of importance, except providing his troops with proviſions at the expence of the Catalans; and the ſeaſon of action,

27. Burnet, ubi. ſup. *State of Europe*, 1708.

on

on the ſide of Portugal, was paſſed in a ſtate of abſolute inactivity [28].

THE operations by ſea were attended with very conſiderable ſucceſs, on the part of the confederates. Sir John Leake, having carried to Catalonia the princeſs of Wolfenbuttle, whom Charles III. had eſpouſed, took on board ſome troops, and directed his courſe to Cagliari, the capital of Sardinia. No ſooner did the Engliſh fleet appear than the monks, gained by cardinal Grimani, who was in the intereſt of the houſe of Auſtria, ran in bodies to the ſtreets and public places, holding the crucifix in their hands, and aſſured the inhabitants, who flocked around them, That God had made uſe of heretics to give them a better maſter. This made ſuch an impreſſion on the populace, that the viceroy was forced to accept of ſuch terms as the invaders choſe to grant; and the whole iſland ſubmitted without drawing a ſword [29]. The ſame admiral, aſſiſted by major-general Stanhope, alſo took the iſland of Minorca [30]; a conqueſt, in itſelf leſs valuable than Sardinia, but of more importance to England when at war with Spain, on account of the excellent harbour of Mahon,

28. *Hiſt. d'Eſpagne*, tom. ii. *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. ii. But the generals, who there commanded, and whoſe conduct in the field was ſo little worthy of praiſe, gained great credit by a wiſe and humane convention, that can never be enough admired. They agreed, that the peaſants, on the frontiers of Spain and Portugal, ſhould not be diſturbed, by the troops of either party, in cultivating the ſoil, or in feeding their cattle; and that the war ſhould, for the future, be conſidered as ſubſiſting only between regular armies, or men in military ſervice, and not between the private inhabitants of the two kingdoms. Id. ibid.

29. *Hiſt. d'Eſpagne*, tom. ii. *State of Europe*, 1708. 30 Id. ibid.

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and the ſtrong caſtle of St. Philip, by which it is defended.

THE reduction of thoſe iſlands, which, in conjunction with the fortreſs of Gibraltar, gave the maritime powers the abſolute command of the Mediterranean, induced the Italian States to ſubmit to certain antiquated claims of the emperor Joſeph, that they would otherwiſe have rejected with diſdain. Even the pope, who had hitherto adhered to the intereſts of Philip V. and who had raiſed an army for the defence of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, no ſooner heard of the ſurrender of Bologna to the Imperialiſts, and that an Engliſh fleet was ready to bombard Civita Vecchia, than he promiſed to acknowlege Charles III. as lawful king of Spain, in order to prevent Rome itſelf from being again ſacked by the barbarians of the North[31]; for as ſuch the Italians ſtill conſidered the Engliſh and Germans.

THE death of the prince of Denmark, the queen of England's huſband, which happened during theſe tranſactions abroad, made no alteration in the ſtate of Engliſh politics; on which his feeble genius, and unimportant character, had never had any influence. The great ſucceſs of the campaign confirmed the aſcendant that Marlborough and Godolphin had acquired, in conſequence of the expulſion of Harley from the cabinet: and they found means to reconcile the diſſatisfied Whigs to their meaſures, by dividing with the leaders of that party, the power and emoluments of government. The earl of Pembroke was appointed to the place of lord high admiral, vacant by the deceaſe of the prince of Denmark; lord Somers, who had been out of office ever ſince

31. Burnet, book vii. *State of Europe*, 1708.

deprived of the Great Seal by king William, was made preſident of the council; and the earl of Wharton, a man of vaſt abilities, but void of any ſteady principle, was declared lord-lieutenant of Ireland[32]. Theſe judicious promotions contributed to preſerve that unanimity, which had hitherto appeared in parliament, and which produced the moſt liberal ſupplies for continuing the war. Seven millions were voted for the ſervice of the enſuing campaign, and ten thouſand men were added to the eſtabliſhment of the preceding year[33]. The Dutch alſo agreed to an augmentation of their troops. LETTER XXII. A. D. 1708.

WHILE the confederates were taking ſuch vigorous meaſures for the proſecution of hoſtilities, ſerious propoſals were made by the French monarch for reſtoring tranquillity to Europe. A variety of circumſtances, the defeat at Oudenarde, the taking of Liſle, a famine in France; the conſequent failure of reſources; the diſcontents of the people; and a want of harmony among the ſervants of the crown, induced Lewis XIV. to offer terms of peace, at once adequate to the ſucceſs of his enemies, and ſuitable to the melancholy ſituation of his own affairs. He agreed to yield the whole Spaniſh monarchy to the houſe of Auſtria, without any equivalent; to cede to the emperor his conqueſts on the Upper Rhine; to give Furnes, Ypres, Menin, Tournay, Liſle, Condé, and Mabeuge as a barrier to Holland; to acknowlege the elector of Brandenburg as king of Pruſſia; the duke of Hanover, as ninth elector of the empire; to own the right of queen Anne to the A. D. 1709.

32. Id. ibid. 33. *Journals*, Nov. 1708.

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Britiſh throne; to remove the Pretender from the dominions of France; to acknowlege the ſucceſſion to the crown of Great Britain in the Proteſtant line; to reſtore every thing required to the duke of Savoy; and to agree to the ceſſions made to the king of Portugal, by his treaty with the Confederates [34].

But theſe terms, ſo honourable as well as advantageous to the allies, and humiliating to the houſe of Bourbon, were rejected by the plenipotentiaries of the confederates, the duke of Marlborough, prince Eugene, and the penſionary Heinſius, from the ſame motives that had led them to reject the propoſals made by France in 1706; their perſonal intereſts, their prejudices, and their paſſions. Lewis was not permitted to form the moſt diſtant hopes of peace, without ſurrendering the ſtrongeſt towns in his dominions, as pledges for the entire evacuation of the Spaniſh monarchy by his grandſon. The marquis de Torcy, who was employed in the negociation, went beyond his powers in making conceſſions; but all in vain: in proportion as he yielded, the plenipotentiaries of the confederates roſe in their demands. Conference followed conference without effect. At laſt the penſionary Heinſius framed forty preliminaries, as the ultimatum of the allies; and although every one of theſe articles, beſide being hard in itſelf, was expreſſed in the moſt dictatorial language, France agreed to thirty-five of them. The other five were rejected with diſdain by Lewis, notwithſtanding the diſtreſſed ſtate of his kingdom, and the evils which he apprehended from the continuance of the war [35]. He threw himſelf upon his

34. Printed Preliminaries.

35. *M. de Torcy*, tom. i.

people,

people, explained his own ample conceſſions, and the haughty terms propoſed by the allies. The pride of the French nation was rouſed. They reſolved to make new efforts in ſupport of their humbled monarch; and the very famine, which occaſioned ſo much miſery, proved of advantage to the ſtate in this neceſſity, as many young men who wanted bread became ſoldiers [36].

LETTER XXII.

A.D. 1709.

As ſoon as the conferences for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace were broken off, the army of the allies, amounting to above an hundred thouſand men, commanded by prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, was formed on the plains of Liſle. Mareſchal Villars, who had been called to the command of the French forces in Flanders, as the laſt ſupport of his ſinking country, occupied a ſtrong poſt between Couriere and the town Bethun. Thoſe places covered his two wings, and he was defended in front by the villages of la Baſſee and Pont Avendin. By this poſition of his army, he covered the cities of Doway and Arras; the reduction of which would have opened a paſſage for the allies into the heart of France. After advancing within two leagues of his camp, and viewing his ſituation, the generals of the confederates not judging it prudent to attack him, ſuddenly drew off their troops, and ſat down before Tournay, one of the ſtrongeſt and moſt ancient cities in Flanders. The citadel, conſtructed with all the ſkill of Vauban, was yet ſtronger than the town. But with ſo much vigour and addreſs were both attacked, that the place itſelf was taken in twenty-one days; and the citadel, into which

36. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xx.

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the governor had retired with the remains of his garriſon, was forced to ſurrender at the end of a month [37].

THE confederates no ſooner found themſelves maſters of Tournay, which they had been permitted to reduce without any annoyance from the enemy, than they formed the deſign of beſieging Mons. They accordingly purſued the neceſſary ſteps for that purpoſe; while Villars, having embraced the bold reſolution of protecting or relieving the place, paſſed the Scarpe, and encamped between that river and the Scheld. Diſappointed in his hopes of arriving at Mons before the main army of the allies, under prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, the French general took poſſeſſion of a ſtrong camp about a league diſtant from the inveſted city, determined to give all poſſible diſturbance to the operations of the beſiegers. His right extended to the village of Malplaquet, which lay behind the extenſive and impenetrable wood of Saart: his left was covered by another thick wood; and his centre was defended by three lines of trenches, drawn along a narrow plain; the whole being ſecured by a fortification of trees, which had been cut down and carried from the neighbouring woods, ſurrounded with all their branches [38].

THE generals of the confederates, elated with paſt ſucceſs, or perſuaded that Mons could not be taken without diſlodging the enemy, reſolved to attack Villars in that ſtrong poſition, although his army was little inferior to theirs, each amounting to near one hundred and twenty thouſand combatants. In conſe-

37. Kane's *Campaigns*. *Life of Marlborough*. *Fenquieres*. Kane's *Campaigns*.

38. *Mem. de*

quence

quence of this reſolution, they advanced to the charge early in the morning, both armies having prepared themſelves for action during the preceding night. The Britiſh troops were oppoſed to the left, the Dutch to the right, and the Germans to the centre of the French army. Mareſchal Villars placed himſelf at the head of his left wing, and committed the charge of his right to Boufflers; who, though a ſenior officer, condeſcended to act under him, that he might have an opportunity of ſaving his country. After an awful pauſe of almoſt two hours, the engagement was begun; and the firing, in a moment, extended from wing to wing. Few battles, in any age, have been ſo fierce and bloody, and none had been ſo long conteſted, ſince the improvement of the art of war, in conſequence of the invention of gunpowder.

THE Britiſh troops, led by the duke of Argyle, having paſſed a moraſs, deemed impracticable, attacked with ſuch fury the left of the enemy, ſtationed in the wood, that they were obliged to retire into the plain behind it; where they again formed, and renewed their efforts. Meanwhile the Dutch, under count Tilly and the prince of Orange, were engaged with the right of the French army; and advancing in three lines to the entrenchments, gave and received a terrible fire for the ſpace of an hour. Some French battalions being thrown into diſorder, were rallied and confirmed in their ſtation, by the vigilance and courage of mareſchal Boufflers; and the Dutch alſo yielding, in their turn, were brought back to the charge by the activity and perſeverance of the prince of Orange. Enraged at this unexpected obſtinacy of the French in both wings, and perceiving

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ceiving that Villars had weakened his centre, in order to ſupport his left, prince Eugene determined to attack, in perſon, the entrenchments in front. He accordingly led on a body of freſh troops; entered the enemy's line, flanked a regiment of French guards, and obliged them to fly. Mareſchal Villars, in haſtening to ſupport his centre, was wounded, and carried off the field. But Boufflers, notwithſtanding this misfortune, continued obſtinately to maintain the fight; and when he found he could no longer ſuſtain the united efforts of prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, who ſhewed that they were determined to conquer or periſh, he made an excellent retreat [39].

THE confederates, after all their exertions, gained little beſide the field of battle; and that they purchaſed with the lives of twenty thouſand men. The French did not loſe above half the number. But ſo impoſing is the name of victory, that the alles were ſuffered to inveſt Mons, and to carry on their operations without the ſmalleſt diſturbance. The ſurrender of that important place put an end to the buſineſs of the campaign in Flanders [40].

THE confederates were leſs ſucceſsful in other quarters. The elector of Brunſwick, who commanded the army of the empire on the Upper Rhine, formed ſome important ſchemes, but found the imperial troops in no condition to ſecond his views; and count de Merci, whom he had detached with a conſiderable body of forces, into Upper Alſace, was defeated by

39. Ibid. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xx.

40. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii. *State of Europe*, 1709.

the

the count de Bourg, and forced to repaſs the Rhine[41]. Certain diſputes between the emperor and the duke of Savoy, relating to ſome territories in the duchy of Milan, rendered the campaign altogether inactive on the ſide of Dauphiny[42]. In Spain, the chevalier d'Asfeld took the caſtle of Alicant, which was gallantly defended by two Engliſh regiments; and the Engliſh and Portugueſe army, under the earl of Galway, was routed by the marquis de Bay, in the province of Eſtremadura. On the other hand, count Staremberg, who commanded the forces of Charles III. in Catalonia, having endeavoured in vain to bring the mareſchal de Bezons to an engagement, took Balaguier in his preſence, and cloſed the campaign with that ſucceſsful enterprize[43]. Nothing memorable happened at ſea.

LETTER XXII.

A. D. 1709

THOUGH the misfortunes of France, during this campaign, were by no means ſo depreſſing as ſhe had reaſon to apprehend, Lewis XIV. renewed his applications for peace, as ſoon as the ſeaſon of action was over; and conferences were appointed at Gertruydenberg, early in the ſpring, in order to adjuſt the terms. But it will be proper, before we enter into the particulars of that negociation, to carry forward the ſtory of Charles XII. and his antagoniſt Peter the Great.

THE king of Sweden, after having acted in the imperious manner already related, quitted Saxony, in September 1707, and returned, at the head of forty-three thouſand men, to Poland; where the czar had

41. Burnet, book vii. 42. Id. ibid. 43. *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. iii. *State of Europe*, 1709.

attempted,

PART II. attempted, though ineffectually, to retrieve the affairs of Auguſtus, during the abſence of Charles. Peter, who was ſtill in Lithuania, retired on the approach of the conquering Swede, and directed his march toward the Boriſthenes or Nieper. But Charles was determined that he ſhould not eſcape, without hazarding a battle before he reached his own dominions. Having entered Grodno on the ſame day that the czar left it, he therefore endeavoured, by forced marches, at that ſevere ſeaſon in a northern climate, through a country covered with moraſſes, deſerts, and immenſe foreſts, to come up with the enemy. Peter, however, ſafely paſſed the Boriſthenes, notwithſtanding this romantic purſuit; Charles having only the ſatisfaction of defeating, after an obſtinate engagement, an army of thirty thouſand Ruſſians, ſtrongly entrenched, in order to obſtruct his progreſs, and which partly effected its purpoſe[44].

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February 2.

But the Czar, though now in his own dominions, was not without apprehenſions, in regard to the iſſue of the conteſt in which he was engaged; he, therefore, ſent ſerious propoſals of peace to Charles. "I will "treat at Moſcow!"—ſaid the Swediſh monarch. "My brother Charles," replied Peter, when informed of this haughty anſwer, "always affects to "play the Alexander; but he will not, I hope, find "in me a Darius[45]." This anecdote ſtrongly marks the characters of theſe two extraordinary men. Charles, as brave and confident as Alexander, but utterly void of foreſight, attempted, without concerting any regular plan of operations, to march to Moſcow; and the Czar took care to prevent him from

44. Contin. Puffend. lib. vii. Voltaire, *Hiſt. Ch. XII.* liv. iv.
45. Voltaire, ubi ſup.

reaching

reaching it, in the direct line, by deſtroying the roads and deſolating the country. LETTER XXII. A. D. 1708

THUS thwarted in his favourite project of marching directly to the ancient capital of Ruſſia, and with his army much diminiſhed by famine, fatigue, and partial engagements, the king of Sweden was induced to attempt a paſſage thither through the Ukraine, on the invitation of Mazeppa, chief of the Coſſacks; who had taken a diſguſt at the Czar, and promiſed not only to ſupply the Swedes with proviſions on their march, but to furniſh them with a reinforcement of thirty thouſand men. Theſe were to join the Swediſh monarch on the banks of the Diſna; where he expected alſo to be joined by general Lewenhaupt, whom he had ordered to march from Livonia, with a reinforcement of fifteen thouſand Swedes, and a large ſupply of ammunition and proviſions. Not once ſuſpecting but every thing would correſpond to his wiſh, the northern conqueror entered the Ukraine in the month of September, and advanced to the place of rendezvous, in ſpite of every obſtacle, which nature, or the enemy could throw in his way.

BUT fortune, at length tired of ſeconding the wild and inconſiderate enterprizes of the fool-hardy Charles, was now reſolved to puniſh him ſeverely for his contempt of her former favours. When he reached the Diſna, he found nothing but frightful deſerts, inſtead of magazines; and, inſtead of reinforcements, he ſaw a body of Ruſſians on the oppoſite bank, ready to diſpute his paſſage. Though his army was exhauſted with hunger and fatigue, though ignorant of the fate of Lewenhaupt, and uncertain of the fidelity of Mazeppa, he determined to croſs the river in the face of the enemy, and effected his purpoſe with little loſs.

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loſs. Advancing ſtill farther into that deſolate country, he was at laſt joined by Mazeppa, who appeared rather as a fugitive prince, come to take refuge in his camp, than a powerful ally, from whom he expected ſuccours. In place of thirty, he was only accompanied by about three thouſand men. The Czar having received information of his intrigues, had ordered his principal friends to be apprehended, and broken upon the wheel. His towns were reduced to aſhes, his treaſures ſeized, and his troops diſperſed [46].

THIS diſappointment was eſteemed but a ſlight misfortune by the king of Sweden, who confidently expected the ſafe arrival of Lewenhaupt and his convoy. Lewenhaupt arrived, but in a condition no leſs deplorable than that of Mazeppa. After three ſucceſſive engagements with the Ruſſians, in which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf equally by his courage and conduct, he had been obliged to ſet fire to his waggons, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, and was happy to eſcape with four thouſand men; the wretched remnant of his gallant army, exhauſted with fatigue, and ready to periſh of hunger. Charles, who was in no condition to relieve their neceſſities, was now earneſtly preſſed by his miniſter, count Piper, to paſs at leaſt the depth of winter in a ſmall town of the Ukraine, named Romana, and depend on the friendſhip of Mazeppa and the Coſſacks for proviſions; or to repaſs, without delay, the Diſna and the Boriſthenes, and return to Poland, where his preſence was much wanted, and where his army might be conveniently put into winter quarters. He rejected both theſe propoſals; and notwithſtanding the

46. *Hiſt. Ruſſ.* chap. xvii. *Hiſt. Charles XII.* liv. iv.

rigour

rigour of the ſeaſon, and although his army was in a great meaſure deſtitute of ſhoes and even of cloathing, he determined to proceed. In this mad march, he had the mortification to ſee two thouſand of his troops periſh of hunger and cold. Yet he ſtill preſſed forward; and, after a variety of obſtructions and delays, occaſioned by the hovering parties of the enemy, and the moſt intenſe froſt ever known in thoſe northern regions, he arrived in the neighbourhood of Pultowa, a ſmall Ruſſian town, ſituated on the river Worſklaw, at the eaſtern extremity of the Ukraine[47]. A. D. 1709. May 10.

BUT of whatever extravagance Charles may be accuſed, in marching this far, through a rugged and impracticable country, in a remarkably ſevere ſeaſon, he cannot be blamed for endeavouring to make himſelf maſter of Pultowa. It was one of the magazines of the Czar, and well ſtored with proviſions and other neceſſaries, of which the king of Sweden was in great want. But, beſide being naturally ſtrong, it was defended by a garriſon of nine thouſand men; and Peter lay at no great diſtance, with an army of ſeventy thouſand, ready to attempt its relief. Theſe unfavourable circumſtances might have ſtaggered the reſolution of a Cæſar or a Marlborough; but to Charles, whoſe deſire of encountering danger was even ſtronger than his paſſion for conqueſt, they were only ſo many incentives to undertake the enterprize. He accordingly inveſted Pultowa with his half famiſhed army, now reduced to twenty-ſeven thouſand men, eighteen thouſand of whom only were Swedes; and yet with this ſmall force, inſufficient to cut off the communication between the garriſon and the Ruſſian army,

47. *Hiſt. Ruſſ.* ubi ſup.

he

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he hoped not only to take the town, but to defeat and even to dethrone the Czar, although his other diſadvantages were many.

As Charles had been under the neceſſity of leaving the greater part of his heavy cannon in the moraſſes and defiles through which he paſſed, the regular progreſs of the ſiege was ſlow. The garriſon bravely repelled all attempts to carry the place by aſſault; and the king of Sweden was dangerouſly wounded in the heel in viewing the works. Meanwhile the Czar, having collected his forces, advanced to the relief of Pultowa, and made ſuch a diſpoſition of his army as ſhewed that he was no novice in the art of war. Charles, though greatly indiſpoſed by his wound, was fired at the approach of an enemy whom he deſpiſed. Betrayed by a falſe idea of honour, he could not bear the thought of waiting for battle in his entrenchments. Having appointed eight thouſand men to guard the lines before the town, he therefore ordered his army to march out, and attack the Ruſſian camp, he himſelf being carried in a litter. The Swedes charged

July 11. with incredible fury, and broke the Ruſſian cavalry. But the horſe rallied behind the foot, which remained firm; and the Czar's artillery made ſuch havock among the ranks of the aſſailants, that, after a deſperate combat of two hours, the Swediſh army was utterly routed and diſperſed. Nine thouſand of the vanquiſhed were left dead on the field, and about ſix thouſand taken, together with the king's military cheſt, containing the ſpoils of Poland and Saxony. The remains of the Flemiſh army, to the number of twelve thouſand, were obliged to ſurrender on the banks of the Boriſthenes, for want of boats to carry them over the river; Charles himſelf, accompanied by three

three hundred of his guards, with difficulty eſcaping to Bender, a Turkiſh town in Moldavia[43].

No victory was ever attended with more important conſequences than that gained at Pultowa, by Peter the Great. The king of Sweden loſt, in one day, the fruits of nine years of ſucceſsful war; and that veteran army, which had ſpread terror over Europe, was totally annihilated. The Czar was not only relieved from all apprehenſions inſpired by a powerful antagoniſt, in the heart of his dominions, who threatened to deprive him of his throne, and to overthrow that grand ſcheme which he had formed for the civilization of his extenſive empire, but enabled to forward his plan of improvement by means of the induſtry and ingenuity of his Swediſh priſoners, whom neceſſity obliged to exert their talents in the moſt remote parts of Siberia. The elector of Saxony, hearing of the defeat of his conqueror, proteſted againſt the treaty of Alt-Ranſtadt, as extorted from him by force, and re-entered Poland. His patron the Czar, followed him. Staniſlaus was forced to relinquiſh his authority, and Anguſtus found himſelf once more in poſſeſſion of the Poliſh throne. Peter revived the ancient pretenſions of the Czars to Livonia, Ingria, Carelia, and part of Finland; Denmark laid claim to Scania; the king of Pruſſia, to Pomerania; and had not the emperor and the maritime powers interpoſed, the Swediſh monarchy would have been rent to pieces.

During theſe tranſactions Charles XII. remained at Bender; where, through his intrigues, conducted

48. Voltaire, ubi ſup. *Hiſt. du Nord.* tom. ii. Contin. of Puffendorf. lib. vii.

by

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by Poniatowſky, a Poliſh nobleman who ſhared his misfortunes, he endeavoured to engage the Turks in a war with Ruſſia. In the proſecution of thoſe intrigues we muſt leave him, and the Czar in the more laudable employment of civilizing his ſubjects, till we have terminated the memorable war between the confederates and the houſe of Bourbon, in regard to the Spaniſh ſucceſſion.

LETTER XXIII.

The General View of EUROPE *carried forward, from the Conferences at* GERTRUYDENBERG, *to the Treaties of* UTRECHT *and* RASTADT.

LETTER XXIII. A.D. 1710.

THOUGH the king of Sweden, during his proſperity, ſhewed no inclination to interfere in the diſpute between France and the confederates, Lewis XIV. had ſtill expectations of being able to engage him in his cauſe. Theſe expectations were conſiderably heightened by the keen indignation which Charles expreſſed at the emperor's open violation of the treaty of Alt-Ranſtadt, as ſoon as he recovered from the terror of the Swediſh arms. The allies were, therefore, relieved from no ſmall degree of anxiety by the total ruin of that prince's affairs, and Lewis was deprived of the laſt hope of deſponding ambition. He accordingly offered the moſt advantageous terms of peace, in the preliminaries that were made the foundation of the conferences at Gertruydenberg.

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A.D. 1710.

As the principal ſacrifices in theſe preliminaries were the ſame with thoſe proffered in 1709, it will be unneceſſary to repeat them here; more eſpecially as they were not accepted. Lewis made additions to his conceſſions, after the commencement of the negociation. He agreed not only to give up, as far as in his power, the Spaniſh monarchy, without any equivalent, and to acknowledge Charles III. lawful king of Spain, but to pay a ſubſidy of a million of livres a month, till his grandſon Philip V. ſhould be expelled. He relinquiſhed even Alſace to the emperor; and, as a ſecurity for the performance of the articles of the treaty, he engaged to deliver the fortified towns of French Flanders, yet in his poſſeſſion, into the hands of the allies. But the haughtineſs of the States, to whom prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, ſecure of the controuling influence of the penſionary Heinſius, had induced the emperor and the queen of England to commit the whole management of the negociation, encouraged their deputies, Buys and Vander Duſſen, to riſe in their demands, in proportion as the plenipotentiaries of France advanced in their conceſſions. Theſe inſolent republicans went ſo far as to inſiſt, That Lewis XIV. inſtead of paying a ſubſidy toward the war againſt Philip V. ſhould aſſiſt the confederates with all his forces, to drive his grandſon from the Spaniſh throne [1].

It was impoſſible for the French monarch to ſubmit to ſo humiliating a requiſition; and yet he was unwilling to break off the treaty. The conferences at Gertruydenberg were, therefore, idly protracted, while the armies, on both ſides, took the field. At

1. De Torcy, tom. ii.

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length, the mareſchal d'Uxelles and the Abbé de Polignac, the plenipotentiaries of Lewis, returned to Verſailles, after having ſent a letter to the penſionary Heinſius declaring the demands of the deputies of the States unjuſt and unreaſonable [2].

In the mean time the confederates were making rapid progreſs in Flanders. The duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene, having aſſembled the allied army more early than was expected, entered the French lines without reſiſtance, and ſat down before
May 5. Douay. This city, ſtrong in its ſituation, but ill fortified, was defended by a garriſon of eight thouſand men. Mareſchal Villars, who had now joined the French army, which he was deſtined to command, determined to attempt the relief of the place. He accordingly croſſed the Scarpe, and advanced within cannon-ſhot of the allies; but finding them ſtrongly entrenched, and being ſenſible that the loſs of one battle might endanger the very exiſtence of the French monarchy, he thought proper to abandon
June 29. Douay to its fate [3]. It ſurrendered after a ſiege of three weeks. Villars obſerved the ſame prudent conduct during the remainder of the campaign, which was concluded with the taking of Bethune, St. Venant, and Aire; places of great importance, but which were not acquired by the confederates without a vaſt expence of blood.

No memorable event happened in Germany during the ſummer, nor any thing of conſequence on the ſide of Piedmont; where the vigilance of the duke of Berwick defeated all the attempts of the allies to penetrate into Dauphiny, notwithſtanding their

2. Ibid. 3. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii.

ſuperior

ſuperior force. The campaign was more fruitful of incidents in Spain.

THE two competitors for the crown of that kingdom took the field in perſon, and ſeemed determined to put all to the hazard of a battle. They accordingly met near Almenara. There general Stanhope, who commanded the Britiſh troops, flew with his own hand the Spaniſh general, Ameſſaga, and routed the cavalry of Philip V. while the count de Staremberg put the infantry to flight. The Spaniards were again defeated, in a more bloody engagement, at Saragoſſa. And in this victory, which threatened to decide the fate of the Spaniſh monarchy, the Britiſh troops, under general Stanhope, had alſo the chief ſhare.

July 27.

CHARLES III. inſtead of ſecuring Pampeluna, the only paſs by which French troops could enter Spain, marched directly to Madrid, at the head of his victorious army; and Philip V. who had retired thither, was obliged to quit his capital a ſecond time. The aſpect of things there, however, was little flattering to his rival. All the grandees had left the city; and the Caſtilians, in general, ſeemed reſolved to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood, rather than have a king impoſed upon them by heretics[4].

MEANTIME the duke de Vendome, whoſe reputation was ſtill high, notwithſtanding his unfortunate campaign in Flanders, having aſſumed, at the requeſt of Philip V. the chief command of the forces of the houſe of Bourbon in Spain, its affairs ſoon began to wear a new face. The Caſtilian nobles crowded, with their followers, round the ſtandard of

4. Burnet, book vii. *Hiſt. d'Eſpagne*, tom. ii.

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a general in whoſe conduct they could confide. And Vendome's army, ſtrengthened by theſe brave volunteers, was farther reinforced by thirty-four battalions of French foot, and thirty-one ſquadrons of horſe, detached by the duke of Berwick from Dauphiny. Another body of French troops, aſſembled in Rouſſillon, was preparing to enter Catalonia, under the duke de Noailles; ſo that the generals of the allies, neglected by the courts of Vienna and Great Britain, as well as by the States General, and at variance among themſelves, were forced once more to abandon Madrid.

THE confederates now directed their march toward Catalonia, whither Charles III. had already retired, in order to protect that warlike province; and, for the benefit of ſubſiſtence, they divided their army into two bodies. Staremberg, with the main body, marched in front, and Stanhope, with five thouſand Britiſh troops brought up the rear. Not reflecting that hope as well as fear gives wings to ſoldiers, the Engliſh general allowed himſelf to be ſurrounded by Vendome, in the village of Brihuega. He defended himſelf with great ſpirit; but the place being utterly deſtitute of fortifications, he was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion, after a ſhort but vigorous reſiſtance [5]. Nor was this all.

STAREMBERG, appriſed of Stanhope's danger, had marched, though reluctantly, to his relief, with the principal army. And this unwilling aid had almoſt occaſioned a greater misfortune than that which it failed to prevent. Staremberg had advanced too far to retreat with ſafety in the face of the enemy. Vendome forced

Dec. 10.

5. Id. ibid.

him

him to an engagement at Villa Vicioſa, about two leagues from Brihuega, the place of Stanhope's diſaſter. Between the armies there was no proportion in numbers, the allies being one half inferior to the French and Spaniards; yet did Staremberg, one of the ableſt commanders in that military age, exert himſelf ſo greatly, both as a general and a ſoldier, that the battle was fierce, obſtinate, and bloody. The Spaniards, under Philip V. broke the left wing of the allies. But their right continued firm, in ſpite of all the efforts of the French, while Staremberg made the centre of the enemy give way; ſo that Vendome judged a retreat neceſſary, in order to avoid the danger of a total defeat [6].

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THE general of the allies however found, on muſtering his forces, that, in conſequence of the capture of the Britiſh troops, and the loſs of men during the action, he was not in a condition to keep the field. He was beſide in want of proviſions, and had no proſpect of ſupply, at that late ſeaſon; he therefore haſtily decamped and continued his march into Catalonia, leaving to the vanquiſhed all the advantages of a complete victory [7].

THESE ſucceſſes revived, in ſome meaſure, the drooping ſpirits of the houſe of Bourbon; and, dur-

6. Burnet, book vii. Duke of Berwick, vol. ii. This account of the battle of Villa Vicioſa, though different from that of ſome hiſtorians, is confirmed by a letter from Philip V. to his queen, dated at the camp of Fuentes, the 11th of December, 1710. "M. de Vendome," ſays he (after relating the progreſs of the action), "ſeeing that our centre "was giving way, and that our left wing of cavalry made no impreſ- "ſion upon their right, thought it time to propoſe of retreating toward "Truija, and gave orders for that purpoſe." *Notes*, No. III. to vol. ii. of the *Duke of Berwick's Mem.*

7. Duke of Berwick, ubi ſup.

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ing the campaign, a revolution had happened in the Engliſh miniſtry, ſtill more favourable to their affairs. This revolution, with its cauſes and conſequences, merits our particular attention.

THOUGH the great influence of Marlborough and Godolphin had obliged their miſtreſs to diſmiſs Harley from her councils, they could not deprive him of that confidence which they themſelves had loſt, and attempted in vain to recover. He had frequent conſultations with the queen in private; and, even while inviſible, is ſaid to have embarraſſed their meaſures. Theſe interviews were procured by Mrs. Maſham, the new favourite, who had now entirely ſupplanted the ducheſs of Marlborough in the queen's affections. But could the miniſtry have retained the favour of the people, they might have diſregarded the private partialities, and in ſome meaſure the confidence of their ſovereign. The duke of Marlborough had the ſole diſpoſal of all military employments, and the earls of Godolphin and Sunderland of all civil offices. They were in poſſeſſion of the whole power of the ſtate. And they had long uſed that power with ſo much judgment, ability, and effect, as to diſarm envy, ſilence, faction, and reconcile to their meaſures all men, who did not labour under the moſt incurable political prejudices, or feel the ſevereſt pangs of diſappointed ambition. The body of the people looked up to them as the worthy followers of king William, our illuſtrious deliverer from popery and arbitrary power, in the grand line of liberty and national honour[8]; they enjoyed the moſt unbounded popularity.

BUT

8. It has been faſhionable, of late years, to repreſent the reign of William as a reign of diſgrace; and, in ſupport of that opinion, an addreſs

LETTER XXII. A. D. 17[illegible]

But popularity, however well founded, is in itſelf of a ſlippery nature. The favour of the multitude in every country, but more eſpecially under free governments, can only be retained by ſomething new. They are totally governed by their hopes and fears; and theſe muſt not be too long ſuſpended, or too uniformly reiterated, otherwiſe they will loſe their effect. The Engliſh populace, during this triumphant period, became ſatiated even with ſucceſs. Victory followed victory ſo faſt, and the ſurrender of one town was ſo ſoon ſucceeded by the taking of another, that good fortune had ceaſed to excite joy: and the roaring of cannon and the ringing of bells were heard with indifference. The people began to feel the weight of the taxes levied in order to ſupport the war. And they obſerved with concern, that in all the negociations for peace, while liberal conceſſions were offered to foreign princes and ſtates, no ſtipulation of any conſequence appeared in favour of the queen of England; who, after all her waſte of blood and treaſure, ſeemed to have only the glory of conquering and giving away cities, provinces, and kingdoms[9].

dreſs of the houſe of commons on the meeting of the firſt parliament of queen Anne is produced, in which the duke of Marlborough is ſaid to have "ſignally *retrieved* the *ancient* honour and glory of the Engliſh nation." But, independent of the doubtfulneſs of theſe expreſſions, this was the addreſs of a Tory parliament, and framed by men who were no friends to the Revolution. The criminal intrigues, connected with that glorious event, have not been concealed by the Author of theſe Letters, nor the faults in the adminiſtration of William. But admitting all thoſe charges, even as urged by his enemies, his reign, though not highly fortunate, muſt be allowed to have been a reign of vigour, of exertion, and a jealous attention to national honour; which can never, perhaps, be purchaſed at too high a price, and which had been ſhamefully neglected during the ignominious reigns of his two immediate predeceſſors.

9. Publications of the Times.

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THE Tories, encouraged by the ſucceſsful intrigues of Harley, and this change of humour in the people, which they had ſecretly contributed to produce, began to entertain hopes of once more holding the reins of government. In order to realize theſe hopes they attempted to make uſe of an engine, which had often been played off againſt themſelves. As the Whigs, who were now in poſſeſſion of the adminiſtration, could no longer rouſe the jealouſies and apprehenſions of the populace on account of their civil and religious liberties, which were ſufficiently ſecured by the Revolution and the Act of Settlement, the Tories endeavoured to awaken the ſame fears, by touching another ſtring. They repreſented the church and monarchy as in imminent danger, from diſſenters and men of levelling principles; under which deſcription they comprehended the whole body of the Whigs.

THIS inflammatory doctrine, as we have ſeen, had been zealouſly propagated from the pulpit, by the high church party, ever ſince the beginning of the preſent reign. The vulgar, as may naturally be ſuppoſed, gradually began to give credit to what they heard ſo often, and ſo vehemently urged; for, notwithſtanding the formal cenſure in parliament of that groundleſs opinion, it ſtill continued to be propagated. And a champion was not wanting openly to brave ſuch high authority, to improve on the ſeditious clamour, and even to bring home the charge to the miniſtry.

THIS bold ſon of the church was Dr. Henry Sacheverell; a man of no ſuperior talents, but who, by his violence in railing againſt the diſſenters, occaſional conformiſts, and the Whig-party in general, had recommended himſelf to the Tories and the majority

majority of the eſtabliſhed clergy. After having diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the country, by ſuch declamations, he was called, by the voice of the people, to a church in the borough of Southwark, where he had a more extenſive field for propagating his ſeditious doctrines; and being appointed to preach in St. Paul's cathedral, on the 5th of November, 1709, the anniverſary of the Gun-powder Plot, he delivered a ſermon, before the lord Mayor of London and the court of aldermen, into which he poured the whole collected venom of his heart. He not only inveighed, in the moſt indecent language, againſt the diſſenters, and the moderate part of the church of England, whom he denominated *falſe brethren*, but threw out ſevere and pionted reflections againſt the principal perſons in power, and inculcated in ſtrong, and unequivocal terms, the ſlaviſh and exploded doctrine of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance; animating the people to ſtand up in defence of the church, which he declared was in imminent danger, and for which, he ſaid, he ſounded the trumpet, deſiring them to put on the whole armour of God[30]! The majority of the court of aldermen being attached to the principles of the Revolution, againſt which theſe doctrines militated, refuſed the uſual compliment to the preacher, of deſiring him to print his ſermon, and were even ſhocked at the violence of the invective. But the lord Mayor, who was a zealous high-churchman, not only encouraged Sacheverell to publiſh his diſcourſe, but accepted a dedication ſtill more violent and inflammatory than the performance itſelf. The merit of both was magnified by the Tories, and

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30. Burnet, book vii. See alſo the Sermon itſelf among Sacheverell's Diſcourſes.

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forty thouſand copies are ſaid to have been circulated, in a few weeks [11].

No literary production ever perhaps attracted ſo much attention as this ſcurrilous ſermon, which had no kind of excellence to recommend it except what it derived from the ſpirit of party. It divided the opinions of the nation: and Sacheverell himſelf, extolled by the Tories as the champion of the church, now on the brink of ruin! and execrated by the Whigs as an enemy to the Revolution, as an advocate for perſecution and deſpotiſm, and a devoted friend to the Pretender, was thought of ſufficient conſequence to be made the object of a parliamentary proſecution. That was what he deſired above all things, and what the miniſtry ought ſtudiouſly to have avoided. But they allowed, on this occaſion, their paſſion to overcome their prudence. Godolphin being perſonally attacked in the ſermon, was highly irritated againſt the preacher; and as the offence was not deemed puniſhable by common law, it was reſolved to proceed by impeachment. Sacheverell was accordingly taken into cuſtody, by command of the houſe of commons: articles were exhibited againſt him at the bar of the houſe of lords, and a day was appointed for his trial; which to complete the folly of this impolitic meaſure, was ordered to be in Weſtminſter-hall, that the whole body of the commons might be preſent [12].

The people are often wrong in their judgment, but always juſt in their compaſſion, though that ſentiment is ſometimes miſplaced. Their compaſ-

11. Burnet, ubi ſup.

12. Burnet, book vii.

ſion

ſion was rouſed for Sacheverell, whom they conſidered as an innocent victim; a meritorious individual, doomed to be cruſhed by the arm of power, for daring to tell the truth. They forgot all his ſlaviſh doctrines: they remembered only his violent declamations, in regard to the danger of the church and monarchy; and they ſaw him expoſed, as they imagined, to perſecution for his honeſt boldneſs. They now believed more than they formerly feared. Neglecting their private affairs, and all the common avocations of life, their concern was turned wholly toward public welfare. Many, who ſeldom entered the church, trembled for the ſafety of the eſtabliſhed religion. They wandered about in ſilent amazement, anxiouſly gazing on each other, and looking forward to the trial of Sacheverell, as if the fate of the nation, or of nature had depended upon the awful deciſion.

When the day arrived, the populace aſſembled in vaſt crowds, and attended the criminal to Weſtminſter-hall. During the whole courſe of his trial, which laſted three weeks, they continued the ſame attentions; and, in the height of their frantic zeal, they deſtroyed ſeveral diſſenting meeting-houſes, inſulted a number of non-conformiſts, ſome Whig members of the houſe of commons, and committed a variety of other outrages. London was a ſcene of anarchy and confuſion. At laſt Sacheverell was found guilty; but the lenity of his ſentence, in conſequence of the popular tumults, was conſidered as a kind of triumph by the Tories. He was only ſuſpended from preaching for three years, without being precluded from preferment, his ſermon being ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman,

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hangman [13]. The famous decree of the University of Oxford, paſſed in 1683, recognizing the doctrine of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, was alſo, by a vote of the lords, ordered to be burnt at the ſame time [14].

THE mildneſs of Sacheverell's puniſhment was juſtly aſcribed, by the populace, to the timidity, not to the moderation of the miniſtry. Proud of their victory, they every where expreſſed their joy on the occaſion, by bonfires and illuminations; and notwithſtanding the vote of the lords, addreſſes were ſent from all parts of the kingdom aſſerting the abſolute power of the crown, and condemning the doctrine of reſiſtance, as the reſult of antimonarchical and republican principles [15]. Of theſe principles the Whigs, as a body, were violently accuſed by the heads of the Tories, who now wholly engroſſed the confidence of their ſovereign, and inſpired her with jealouſies of her principal ſervants.

THE queen herſelf, who had long affected to adopt meaſures which ſhe was not permitted to guide, was glad of an opportunity of freeing herſelf from that political captivity in which ſhe was held by her popular and too powerful miniſters. She accordingly took advantage of this ſudden and extraordinary change in the ſentiments of the people, in order to bring about a total change of the perſons employed in the adminiſtration of her government. The duke of Shrewſbury, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the cauſe of Sacheverell, was made chamberlain, in the room of the earl of Kent: Godolphin received

13. Id. ibid.
14. *Journals of the Lords*, March, 1710.
15. Burnet, book vii.

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an order to break his ſtaff, as lord treaſurer of Great Britain: the treaſury was put in commiſſion; and Harley, as a prelude to higher promotion, was appointed chancellor of the exchequer; while his friend, St. John, ſucceeded Mr. Boyle, as ſecretary of ſtate. The duke of Marlborough alone, of the whole party to which he belonged, remained in office: and that mark of diſtinction he owed to his own high reputation, not to the favour or forbearance of his enemies. Though his fall was already determined on, they were afraid that the temper of the people was not yet ſufficiently prepared for the removal of ſo great a commander [16].

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MARLBOROUGH, whoſe character is one of the moſt complicated in modern hiſtory, appears to have been fully ſenſible of his own conſequence, as well as of the dangerous deſigns of the new miniſtry. At the ſame time that he was making profeſſions of attachment to the court of St. Germains [17], (though for what purpoſe it is impoſſible to determine,) he wrote, in the following ſtrong terms, to the elector of Hanover; with the *intereſts* of *whoſe family*, he ſaid, he conſidered thoſe of *his country* and of *all Europe* to be *inſeparably connected*. "I hope," adds he, "the Engliſh nation will not permit themſelves to be impoſed upon by the artifice of Harley and his aſſociates. Their conduct leaves no doubt of their "deſign of placing the pretended prince of Wales on "the throne. We feel too much already their bad "intentions and pernicious views. But I expect to "be able to employ all my attention, all my credit, "and that of my friends, in order to advance the

16. Id. ibid. *State of Europe*, 1710.

17. *Stuart Papers*, 1710.

"intereſt

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"intereſt of the electoral family, and to prevent the "deſtructive counſels of a race of men, who eſtabliſh "principles and form cabals, which will otherwiſe "infallibly overturn the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and "with it the liberty of their country and the freedom "of Europe[18]."

THE new miniſtry were no leſs liberal in their declarations of attachment to the houſe of Hanover[19]: and Harley, ſoon after appointed lord treaſurer, and created earl of Oxford and Mortimer, was perhaps ſincere in his profeſſions. Bred up in the notions of the preſbyterians, to which he ſtill adhered, and perhaps tinctured with republican principles, he had only made uſe of the high-church party as a ladder to his ambition; and although a ſincere friend to the Proteſtant Succeſſion, he was accuſed, from this circumſtance, of abetting the hereditary deſcent of the crown, and all the maxims of arbitrary power[20].

IN conſequence of theſe appearances, the Pretender was encouraged to write to his ſiſter, queen Anne. He put her mind of the affection that ought to ſubſiſt between two perſons ſo nearly related; he recalled to her memory, her repeated promiſes to their common parent:—"To you," ſaid he, "and to you "alone, I wiſh to owe eventually the throne of my "fathers. The voice of God and of nature are "loud in your ear! the preſervation of our family, "the preventing of inteſtine wars, and the proſperity "of our country combine, to require you to reſcue

18. Original Letters in the *Hanover Papers*, 1710. 19. Id. ibid. 20. *Stuart and Hanover Papers*. See alſo Bolingbroke's *Letter to Sir William Wyndham*, and the *Duke of Berwick's Mem.* vol. ii.

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" me from affliction, and yourſelf from miſery. " Though reſtrained by your difficult ſituation, " I can form no doubt of your preferring a brother, " the laſt male of an ancient line, to the remoteſt " relation we have in the world. Neither you nor " the nation have received any injury at my hands: " therefore, Madam, as you tender your honour and " happineſs—as you love your family, as you revere " the memory of your father—as you regard the " welfare and ſafety of a great people, I conjure you " to meet me, in this friendly way of compoſing " our difference!—The happineſs of both depends " upon your determination:—you have it in your " power to deliver me from the reproach that invari- " ably follows unfortunate princes, and to render " your own memory dear to poſterity[21]."

But whatever effect the warm remonſtrances of a brother might have on the mind of the queen of England, the ſolicitations of his agents made no impreſſion on her prime miniſter. Harley is ſaid even to have been hitherto ignorant of the ſentiments of his miſtreſs, in regard to the ſucceſſion of the crown. He knew that, with a natural jealouſy of her own authority, ſhe was averſe againſt the appearance of the legal ſucceſſor in the kingdom; but a more intimate acquaintance, if not a more perfect confidence, only made him ſenſible, that ſhe wiſhed to leave, at her death, the ſceptre in the hands of the Pretender[22]. He was too far engaged, and too fond of power, to retreat. He hoped however, inſtead of injuring the proteſtant cauſe, more effectually to

21. *Stuart Papers.*

22. MS. in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Macpherſon.

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ſecure, by his eminent ſtation, the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hanover, and with it the religion and liberties of his country. He was, therefore, under the neceſſity of accommodating himſelf, in ſome meaſure, to the wild projects of the more violent Tories, as well as of flattering the queen's affection for her brother, by ſeeming to ſecond her deſigns in favour of that prince. And hence the great line of his political conduct was in direct contradiction to his private opinions.

In this reſpect, Oxford was exactly in the ſame predicament with Godolphin, his predeceſſor in office; who, though a Tory and a Jacobite, had been obliged, from the the circumſtances of the times, as we have ſeen, to place himſelf at the head of the Whigs, and was conſidered as the leader of that party by the world. But Oxford, without the ſtrong abilities of Godolphin, who was one of the ableſt ſtateſmen of any age or nation, had ſtill greater difficulties and more obſtinate prejudices to ſtruggle with. Even while uſing all his efforts againſt the reſtoration of the excluded family, and laying himſelf in the duſt at the feet of the legal heirs of the crown, he was believed, not only by his countrymen, but by the court of Hanover itſelf, to be a firm friend to the Pretender. His profeſſions were conſidered as only ſo many baits to deceive; yet did he perſevere in his principles, and in his endeavours to defeat all attempts to the prejudice of the Proteſtant Succeſſion!

The new adminiſtration, in England, was introduced with a new parliament; the former having been diſſolved, in compliance with the warm addreſſes

dreſſes of the high-church party. In the election of the members of this parliament the moſt unwarrantable methods had been taken to keep out the Whigs; and methods, ſtill more unjuſtifiable, were taken to exclude the ſmall number of that party who had found their way into the houſe. Petitions were preſented againſt moſt members ſuppoſed to favour the old miniſtry[23]. The Tories, however, though now poſſeſſed of a decided majority on every motion, and though convinced that peace was equally neceſſary to the ſafe enjoyment of their own power, and to the execution of thoſe deſigns which they had formed, in favour of the excluded family, durſt not yet venture to reveal their ſentiments to the nation. The new miniſtry, therefore, reſolved to follow, for a time, their predeceſſors in the line of hoſtility. The moſt liberal ſupplies were accordingly voted for the future ſupport of the war, as well as to make up for paſt deficiencies: in all, to the amount of near fifteen millions[24]. LETTER XXIII. A.D. 1710. A.D. 1711.

THIS appearance of vigour left the Whigs no occaſion of murmuring at a change of meaſures. But their complaints would have broken out on the firſt ſymptom of relaxation; and Harley and the Tories, in purſuing, contrary to their own inclination, the hoſtile ſyſtem of the confederates, while jealouſly watched by their political enemies, would have found themſelves involved in inſurmountable difficulties and embarraſſments. Happily for the Engliſh miniſtry, as well as for the houſe of Bourbon, an unexpected event gave a new turn to the politics of Europe. This was the ſudden death of the emperor Joſeph,

23. Burnet, book vii. 24. *Journals* 1711. The exact ſum raiſed and provided for was, 14,573,319l. 19s. 8¼.

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whoſe reign had been one continued flow of ſucceſs. He was ſucceeded, not only in all his hereditary honours and dominions, but alſo in the imperial throne, by his brother Charles; and as it was contrary to the ſpirit of the Grand Alliance, that the ſame perſon ſhould poſſeſs Spain and the empire, Harley and his aſſociates were no longer afraid to avow their pacific ſentiments. The fears of mankind were in a moment changed: the liberties of Europe ſeemed now to be in more danger from the power of the houſe of Auſtria, than that of Bourbon.

MEANWHILE hoſtilities were carried on in every quarter. Diſpoſitions had been made, by the allies, for taking the field early in Flanders; but the rigour of the ſeaſon, and the unexpected delay of ſome reinforcements, prevented the duke of Marlborough from forming his army before the beginning of May. His plan was, to open the campaign with the ſiege of Arras and Cambray; the taking of which two important places would have laid Picardy naked to the banks of the Somme. And the army originally deſtined for the ſervice of the confederates would, in all probability, have been ſufficient to enable him to accompliſh this great deſign. But the death of the emperor, at the ſame time that it opened a proſpect of peace, obſtructed the operations of war. Prince Eugene being obliged to march toward the banks of the Rhine, with the greater part of the German troops, in order to prevent the French and their partizans from taking advantage of that event, by diſturbing the deliberations of the electors aſſembled at Frankfort, the duke of Marlborough was under the neceſſity of limiting his views. But his vigour and activity were not diminiſhed. Though now inferior

in numbers to the enemy, he anxiouſly ſought a battle, in hopes of overwhelming his political adverſaries, or at leaſt cloſing his military exploits, with a ſplendid victory. But the caution of mareſchal Villars, who was ſtrongly poſted near Arleux, deprived the Engliſh commander of any opportunity of acquiring this ſatisfaction. By the moſt maſterly movements, however, Marlborough eluded the vigilance of that able general, and got within the French lines, without the loſs of a man. He ſat down before Bouchain, in ſight of the enemy; and concluded the campaign with the taking of that important place [25].

NOTHING memorable, in the military line, was tranſacted in Germany. Prince Eugene having defeated the hoſtile deſigns of the French, the electors proceeded coolly to the choice of a new chief; and the archduke, who had ſo long contended for the crown of Spain, and even aſſumed, as we have ſeen, the title of Charles III. was unanimouſly raiſed to the imperial dignity, by the name of Charles VI. On the ſide of Piedmont, the duke of Berwick, as formerly, ſucceſsfully defended France againſt the forces of the duke of Savoy. In Spain, the taking of Gironne, by the duke de Noailles, and the raiſing of the ſiege of Cardona, by Staremberg, in defiance of a greatly ſuperior army, under Vendome, were the only events of any conſequence. No action happened at ſea, nor any thing worthy of notice, except the failure of an expedition, from Old and New England, againſt Quebec, the capital of Canada or New France. This enterpriſe miſcarried, partly from the late ſeaſon at which it was undertaken, and partly from an

25. Burnet, book vii. *State of Europe*, 1711.

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ignorance of the navigation of the river St. Lawrence, where ten tranſports, and two thouſand five hundred men, were loſt[26].

THE general languor of the campaign, together with the elevation of the archduke, Charles, to the head of the empire, inſpired the Britiſh miniſtry and the houſe of Bourbon with the moſt ſanguine hopes of peace. They had even negociated ſecretly during the ſummer: and preliminaries were privately ſigned at London, on the 27th of September, by Menager, the French agent, and St. John, the Engliſh ſecretary. This inſidious tranſaction, ſo diſgraceful to Great Britain, being accidentally brought to light, all the other allies were alarmed. They ſaw themſelves ready to be deſerted by a power, which had been the chief ſupport of the war. And though not altogether averſe againſt peace, they could place no confidence in the negociations of men capable of ſuch diſingenuity; and whoſe ſole object ſeemed to be the ſecuring to themſelves and their adherents the emoluments of office, by putting a ſpeedy end to hoſtilities, inſtead of endeavouring to procure for their country and the confederates the fruits of ſo many glorious victories, acquired at an enormous expence of blood and treaſure[27]. "That," ſays M. de Torcy, ſpeaking of the

26. Id. ibid.

27. This accuſation is even in ſome meaſure, admitted by St. John himſelf, who was deeply concerned in theſe ſecret negociations. "I am afraid," ſays he, "that the prin-"cipal ſpring of our actions was to have the government of the ſtate "in our hands; that our principal views were the conſervation of "this power, great employments to ourſelves, and great opportunities "of rewarding thoſe who had helped to raiſe us; to break the body "of the Whigs," adds he; "to render their ſupports (the Dutch and "the other allies) uſeleſs to them, and to fill the employments of the "kingdom,

the ſecret propoſal of the Engliſh miniſtry to negociate with France, without the intervention of Holland, "was like aſking a ſick perſon labouring "under a long and dangerous illneſs, if he would be "cured!" LETTER XXIII. A. D. 1711.

THE preliminaries, when communicated to the miniſters of the confederate princes and ſtates, ſerved only to increaſe their jealouſies and fears. The reſignation of Philip V. was no longer inſiſted on. This omiſſion particularly offended the emperor: and count de Galas, the imperial ambaſſador at the court of London, in the heat of his zeal for his maſter's intereſt, having publiſhed a copy of the articles in a news-paper, as an appeal to the public, all England was thrown into a ferment. The people, always jealous of national honour, were filled with indignation at the new miniſtry, for negociating ſecretly with France; a power whoſe ambition had ſo long diſquieted her neighbours, and whoſe humiliation had been the daclared object of the Grand Alliance. They juſtly ſuſpected the court of ſiniſter deſigns; eſpecially as the ſtipulations in the preliminaries fell infinitely below their expectations, after ſo ſucceſsful a war. The more moderate Tories, aſhamed of the meanneſs, if not the baſeneſs of their leaders, alſo took part with the offended allies; and the Whigs, while they allowed the ſeaſon for negociating to be arrived, execrated the mode, and attempted to render odious the men by whom the negociation was conducted[28].

"kingdom, down to the meaneſt, with Tories." (*Letter to Sir William Windham*) "Peace," continues he, "had been judged with "reaſon, to be the only ſolid foundation whereupon we could erect a "Tory ſyſtem." Ibid.

[28] Publications of the times.

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THE Engliſh miniſtry, however, were not without their abettors. The pens of the moſt eminent writers of the age were employed in vindication of their meaſures, and to render contemptible their political enemies. Defended by ſuch powerful advocates, and encouraged by the favour of their ſovereign, they determined to ſupport the preliminaries. The queen accordingly told the parliament, on its meeting, in a ſpeech from the throne, That, *notwithſtanding* the *arts of thoſe that delight in war*, both time and place were appointed for opening the treaty of a general peace; that ſhe was reſolved to improve and enlarge, by the advantages to be obtained, the intereſt of her ſubjects in trade and commerce; and that ſhe would not only endeavour to procure all reaſonable ſatisfaction to her allies, but to unite them in the ſtricteſt engagements, in order to render permanent the public tranquillity. The beſt way however, ſhe added, to treat of peace with effect, was to make an early proviſion for carrying on the war; ſhe, therefore demanded the uſual ſupplies, and recommended unanimity[29].

THE ſupplies were readily granted by the commons, who alſo echoed back the queen's ſpeech in an affectionate addreſs. The lords were leſs complaiſant. They clogged their addreſs with a clauſe, "That no peace could be ſafe or honourable, ſhould "Spain and the Indies be allowed to remain with "any branch of the houſe of Bourbon:" and this addition to the addreſs was carried, by a majority of the houſe, in ſpite of all the arguments of the miniſtry, who oppoſed it with the whole weight of government. The queen returned an ambiguous

29. *Journals*, Dec. 7, 1711.

anſwer

anſwer to an addreſs ſo ſubverſive of her meaſures; and as the vote for the obnoxious clauſe was known to have been procured chiefly by the influence and intrigues of the duke of Marlborough, ſhe ſaw the neceſſity of depriving him of his employments, or of diſmiſſing her miniſter, and ſtopping the progreſs of the treaty of peace. Chuſing the firſt of thoſe alternatives, ſhe ſent the duke a letter, telling him that ſhe had no more occaſion for his ſervice; and in order to ſecure a majority in the houſe of lords, twelve gentlemen, devoted to the court, were created peers[30]. A. D. 1711.

THIS was an extraordinary ſtretch of prerogative, and could not fail to give alarm to the independent part of the nobility; as it was evident, that the ſovereign, by ſuch an arbitrary exertion of royalty, could at all times over-rule their reſolutions. But as law was on the ſide of the crown, they were obliged to ſubmit to the indignity put upon them. The body of the Whigs were filled with conſternation at theſe bold meaſures; and as their leaders now deſpaired of being able to reinſtate themſelves in the adminiſtration, by more gentle means, they are ſaid to have planned a new revolution. It is at leaſt certain, that the heads of the party held frequent cabals with the Dutch and Imperial ambaſſadors, as well as with the baron de Bothmar, envoy from the elector of Hanover, who preſented, in the name of his maſter, a ſtrong memorial againſt the projected peace; declaring, that the fruits of a glorious war would be loſt, ſhould Spain and the Indies be abandoned to the duke of Anjou[31]. And every method was taken, particularly by the earl of Sunderland and lord Halliſax, to

30. Burnet. Boyer. Swift. Bolingbroke. 31. Ibid.

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impreſs the people with a belief, nor ſeemingly without reaſon, that the chief view of the preſent miniſtry was the reſtoration of the excluded family. They therefore affirmed, that the Proteſtant Succeſſion was in danger, and urged the neceſſity of ſending for the elector of Hanover or his ſon[32].

On the other hand, the Tories employed all the force of wit and ſatire, of which they were in full poſſeſſion, againſt their political adverſaries; but eſpecially to degrade the character, and ridicule the conduct of the duke of Marlborough; whoſe diſmiſſion from the command of the army, after ſuch extraordinary ſucceſs, without ſo much as an imputation of miſbehaviour, in his military capacity, they were afraid would rouſe the reſentment of the nation againſt the miniſtry. Their chief accuſation againſt him was, that, in order to favour his own operations in Flanders, to gratify his ambition, and to glut his inordinate avarice, he had ſtarved the war in Spain. Alluding to the ſtrength of the French barrier, they uſed a vulgar phraſe, which made great impreſſion on the people: they ſaid, that to endeavour to ſubdue France, by attacking her ſtrong towns on the ſide of Flanders, was "taking the bull by the horns;" that the troops and treaſures of the confederates, inſtead of being employed in expelling Philip V. from the throne of Spain, had been thrown away on unimportant ſieges, and attacks upon almoſt impregnable lines; that prince Eugene having profited like Marlborough, by theſe hoſtilities, had united with him in influencing the councils of the States, through the penſionary Heinſius; and that all three meant

32. *Mem. de Torcy*, tom. ii. *Stuart Papers*, 1711, 1712.

nothing,

nothing, by the undecisive campaigns in Flanders, but to *protract* the war, and to perpetuate their own power, which was intimately connected with it[33]. LETTER XXIII. A.D. 1711

But now, my dear Philip, when the prejudices of party have subsided, this accusation appears to have been malicious and unjust. It is generally agreed, at the same time it is admitted those generals had an interest and a pride in prosecuting the war, That to push France on the side of Flanders, was the most effectual way of depriving the house of Bourbon of the Spanish throne. The distance of the confederates from Spain; its vicinity to France; the necessity of conveying every thing thither by sea; the sterility of the country by reason of the indolence of the inhabitants; and the obstinate aversion of the Spaniards, in general, against a prince supported by heretics, rendered it almost impracticable to conquer that kingdom, as experience had proved, after repeated victories. But Spain might have been compelled to receive another sovereign without being utterly subdued: the duke of Marlborough took the true method of dethroning Philip V.

Though the strong barrier of France in the Netherlands had cost the confederates much blood and treasure, as well as time, the work was, at length, nearly completed. Another campaign would probably have enabled them, had they continued united, to penetrate into France, and even to take possession of Paris; so that Lewis XIV. in order to save his own kingdom, would have been obliged to relinquish the support of his grandson, and to pull him, in a manner with his own hands, from the Spanish throne Of

33. *Parliamentary Debates*, and Publications of the Times.

this

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this the king of France was as ſenſible as the duke of Marlborough [34]: and hence his joy at the change of ſentiments in the court of England, and the regret of the Whigs at the loſs of ſo glorious an opportunity of advancing the intereſts of their country, and of fully gratifying their vengeance againſt that monarch.

It is, indeed, ſincerely to be lamented, and poſſibly may to the lateſt poſterity, that ſuch a change ſhould have happened at this critical period. For however impolitic it might be, in the Engliſh miniſtry, to continue the war, after the year 1706, as it ſurely was after 1709, when all the objects of the Grand Alliance might have been obtained; yet as the war was carried on afterward, at a vaſt expence of blood and treaſure, and with a degree of ſucceſs, which, if foreſeen, would perhaps have juſtified the proſecution of it, no propoſals of peace ſhould have been liſtened to, far leſs any deſire to negociate *ſecretly inſinuated by a French ſpy* [35], till advantages equivalent to that additional expence had been offered. Since we had committed a *ſucceſsful folly*, to uſe the words of my lord Bolingbroke, it was folly not to profit by it to the utmoſt. No ſtop ſhould have been put to the career of victory, until the houſe of Bourbon had been completely humbled.

It was on this ground that the Whigs now ſo violently oppoſed the peace, and urged the neceſſity of continuing the war, that they might have an opportunity of recovering the adminiſtration, and conſe-

34. *Mem.* de Torcy, tom. ii.

35. Gaultier, who was firſt employed to ſignify to the court of Verſailles the inclinations of the Tory miniſtry toward peace, was a catholic prieſt, and a ſpy for France in London. *Mem.* de Torcy, tom. ii.

quently

quently of wreſting the negociations out of the hands of men, whom they conſidered as enemies to the Proteſtant Succeſſion, to the liberties of mankind, and to the common cauſe of the confederates. They admitted, that the elevation of the archduke to the imperial throne had made a material alteration in the political ſtate of Europe; that the power of the houſe of Auſtria, which all centred in the perſon of the emperor Charles, was very great; but they affirmed, at the ſame time, that was no ſufficient reaſon for negociating prematurely with the houſe of Bourbon, or accepting inadequate terms. LETTER XXIII. A.D. 1711.

ENGLAND and Holland held the balance; and as they had chiefly contributed toward the ſucceſs of the war, they had a right to be the arbiters of peace. In order to preſerve the equilibrium of power, and effectually to prevent the union of the kingdoms of France and Spain in the perſon of the ſame prince in any future time, Spain might be given, it was ſaid, to the duke of Savoy; the moſt valuable of the Spaniſh poſſeſſions in America, to Great Britain; and Philip V. might be gratified with a principality in Italy; after which there would ſtill remain enough to ſatisfy the emperor and the States, without diſmembering the French monarchy [36]. But whether we had left Philip, or placed any other prince on the throne of Spain, we ought to have reduced the power of France to a ſtate of depreſſion from which it would not have recovered for generations to come.

WHILE the Whigs were occupied in contemplating thoſe extenſive plans of policy, and encouraged in their ſchemes by the Imperial and Dutch miniſters, little

36. Publications of the Times.

wonder

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wonder they embraced raſh reſolutions, and adopted violent counſels, in order to obſtruct the negociation of a treaty, which was deſtined to extinguiſh all their hopes; to ſtrike the ſword of conqueſt from the hand of the confederates, and the wreath of victory from their brows; to deprive them of an opportunity, that fortune and valour had conſpired to produce, and which might never return, of utterly breaking the power of their ambitious enemies, and effectually ſecuring the civil and religious liberties of Europe.

As a laſt effort to recover their authority, and to prevent the ills they feared, the Whigs invited over prince Eugene to London. No leſs bold and intelligent as a politician, than able and intrepid as a commander, he made no doubt of defeating the projected treaty of peace, by embarraſſing the Britiſh miniſtry, with ſplendid offers of advantage, provided the queen would agree to continue the war. Among other things, he meant to propoſe, in the name of the emperor, that the imperial forces in Spain ſhould be augmented to the number of thirty thouſand, and that Great Britain ſhould be put in full poſſeſſion of the commerce of that kingdom and of the Spaniſh dominions in America [37].

A. D. 1712. Jan. 5.

But, unfortunately for the Whigs, as well as for the confederates, and for the grandeur and proſperity of the united kingdoms, the duke of Marlborough was diſmiſſed from all his employments before the arrival of prince Eugene, and rendered incapable to ſecond his views. The commons, being chiefly Tories, were firm in their ſupport of the miniſtry; and a majority

37. *Mem. de Torcy*, tom. ii. *Stuart Papers*, 1713.

had

had been ſecured in the houſe of lords, by the introduction of the twelve new peers. That great man was therefore obliged to return to the continent, without being able to do any thing for the intereſt of the allies; though, during his ſtay in England, it is affirmed that he ſuggeſted many deſperate expedients, and ſome violent, and even inhuman meaſures, for depriving the Tories of the adminiſtration [38]. But theſe were all prudently rejected by the Hanoverian reſident and the leaders of the Whigs; as an inſurrection, or popular tumult, if not finally ſucceſsful, beſide the miſchief it might otherwiſe have occaſioned, would have endangered the Proteſtant Succeſſion. They refuſed to employ any but legal means.

LETTER XXIII. A. D. 1712.

DURING thoſe ineffectual intrigues, the Engliſh miniſtry gained a new victory over their political adverſaries. Lord Townſhend, who had been employed in the negociations for peace, in 1709, had concluded a treaty with the States of the United Provinces, by which Liſle, Tournay, Menin, Douay, and ſeveral places on the Lys and the Scheld, were guarantied to the Dutch as a barrier, at the end of the war. And they undertook to guaranty, in return, the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*; to *aid* with their *fleets* and *armies* the *Preſumptive Heirs* of the *Britiſh Crown*, whenever *that Succeſſion* ſhould *appear* to be *in danger* [39].

38. *Mem.* de Torcy, tom. ii. *Stuart Papers*, 1713. He is ſaid to have propoſed to ſet fire to London, in different places, in the night; that, in in the midſt of the confuſion, the duke of Marlborough ſhould appear at the head of a party in arms; that he ſhould firſt poſſeſs himſelf of the Tower, the Bank, the Exchequer, and then ſeize the perſon of the queen; force her to diſſolve the parliament, to call a new repreſentative, to make a free inquiry into the clandeſtine correſpondence with France, and to puniſh the guilty with death. Id. ibid.

39. *Mem.* de Torcy, tom. ii. Burnet, book vii.

THESE

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These engagements were perfectly conformable to the declared views of the late miniſtry, who had ratified the treaty, but utterly inconſiſtent with thoſe of the preſent, as well as with their ſafety. They were not ignorant that the Whigs, and perhaps even the States, pretended that *this* perilous period was already arrived. They were alſo ſenſible, that France would with difficulty yield cities and towns that were eſſential to her own defence. And being determined to remove every obſtacle that might retard the peace, they brought the Barrier Treaty, and all the tranſactions relative to it, before the Houſe of Commons, under pretence that Townſhend had exceeded his inſtructions. The commons, entirely governed by the court, voted that ſeveral articles of the treaty were deſtructive to the intereſts of Great Britain; and therefore, that he who negociated and ſigned the treaty, having no authority to inſert thoſe pernicious articles, was an enemy to the queen and the kingdom.

It is not a little ſurpriſing, that at the ſame time the late miniſtry were concluding this treaty, which had ſolely for its object, on the part of Great Britain, the ſecurity of the Hanoverian ſucceſſion, Marlborough and Godolphin, who directed the meaſure, were ſtill holding out hopes to the court of St. Germains. Godolphin is ſaid only to have regretted his fall, as it deprived him of the power of ſerving effectually the excluded family. "Harley, I hope," ſaid he, "will reſtore the King," for ſo he called the Pretender—"but he will make France neceſſary to that "meaſure: I deſigned to have done the buſineſs alone[41]."

41. *Stuart Papers*, 1709.

MARL-

MARLBOROUGH, though perhaps leſs ſincere in his profeſſions, was more liberal in his promiſes of ſucceſs. While he lamented, that he was not likely to be employed in concluding the peace, as he might, in that caſe, he ſaid, have done eſſential ſervice to the *old* cauſe, he aſſured the court of St. Germains, that *the eyes of the people* would be *gradually opened*. "They "will ſee their intereſt," added he, "in reſtoring "their King. I perceive ſuch a change in his favour, "that I think it impoſſible but he muſt ſucceed; "but when he ſhall ſucceed, let there be no retroſ- "pect. All that has been done ſince the Revolution "muſt be confirmed. His buſineſs is to gain all, by "offending none. As for myſelf," continues Marlborough, "I take God to witneſs, that what I have "done *for many years*," conſcious that his original deſertion of his benefactor could not be vindicated, "was neither from ſpleen to the ROYAL FAMILY, "nor ill-will to their cauſe, but to humble the power "of France; a ſervice as uſeful to the KING, as it "is beneficial to his kingdom[42]." LETTER XXIII. A. D. 1712.

THESE extracts ſeem to prove, That although both the late and the preſent miniſters, Oxford excepted, intended to call the Pretender to the throne, their views in regard to that meaſure were very different. The former meant to connect it with the aggrandiſement of Great Britain, and the humiliation of France; the latter, to lean upon France for ſupport. And for that ſupport they were willing to ſacrifice the honour and intereſt of the nation; to deſert the true ſyſtem of European policy, under pretence of œconomy, and to ſink into that ſtate of abject dependence upon a

42. *Stuart Papers*, 1710.

rival

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rival power, which had disgraced the reigns of the second Charles and the second James.

But such observations apart, my dear Philip, the politics of England, during this period, afford an object for philosophic curiosity, to which there is perhaps no parallel in the annals of mankind. That Marlborough and Godolphin, the great leaders of the Whigs, while pursuing with zeal the views of that party, had always in contemplation the re-establishment of the family of Stuart! and that Oxford, the head of the Tories, and a reputed Jacobite, should secure, by his address, the succession of the house of Brunswick, without being able to acquire their confidence, and while he was known to be at bottom a Whig by the queen and the court of St. Germains, whose confidence he was thought to possess, and whose views he was supposed to promote[43]! are singular particulars in the history of human nature.

Jan. 18. While the English ministry were smoothing at home the road to peace, general conferences were opened at Utrecht, for restoring tranquillity to Europe. And the earl of Strafford and the bishop of Bristol, the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, in order to reconcile the confederates to the negociation, declared that the preliminaries signed by Menager, and accepted by St. John, to which they artfully gave the name of *proposals*, were neither binding on the queen nor her allies[44]. This declaration composed the spirits of the confederates in some degree. But before any progress could be made in the treaty, certain unexpected incidents gave a new turn to the negociations, and alarmed queen Anne and her Tory

43. Compare *Stuart and Hanover Papers.*

44. Burnet, book vii.

ministry

miniſtry for the fate of that peace which they had ſo much at heart. LETTER XXIII.

A.D. 1712.

THE Dauphin of France, the only legitimate ſon of Lewis XIV. having died the preceding year, had been ſucceeded in his title, as heir to the French monarchy, by his eldeſt ſon, the duke of Burgundy. That prince alſo died early in the preſent year; and, in three weeks after, his ſon, the duke of Brittany. Feb. 18. In conſequence of this uncommon mortality, which has been aſcribed to the ambitious intrigues of the duke of Orleans, the duke of Anjou, a ſickly infant, the ſole ſurviving ſon of the duke of Burgundy, only ſtood between the king of Spain and the crown of France. The confederates were, therefore, filled with reaſonable apprehenſions, leſt that union of the two monarchies, which it had been the chief object of the war to prevent, ſhould at laſt be completed, after all their ſucceſſes, by the death of a puny child, and the lukewarmneſs, if not treachery, of a principal ally. And the queen of England and her miniſters were not a little at a loſs how to quiet theſe well grounded fears.

EXTRAORDINARY as it may ſeem, the Britiſh miniſtry had not hitherto furniſhed their plenipotentiaries with inſtructions relative to the Spaniſh ſucceſſion [42]. Theſe were reſerved for a confidential envoy, intended to be joined with the two former, and who had been employed in the ſecret negociations with France [43]. Though the earl of Strafford and the biſhop of Briſtol were Tories, and wholly devoted to the

42. Swift's *Hiſt. of the Four laſt Years of Queen Anne.*

43. Mr. Prior, ſo well known by his ſprightly poems, and who had a principal ſhare in all the negociations relative to the peace of Utrecht.

court, it was not thought ſafe to truſt them with a matter ſo injurious to the honour and the intereſt of their country.

THIS deceitful mode of proceeding, altogether unworthy of a great nation, which, as it had borne the chief burden of the war, might openly have dictated the plan of pacification, ſufficiently juſtifies the ſuſpicions of the allies, That the general intereſts of the confederacy would be ſacrificed to the eagerneſs of queen Anne for peace; to the ſelfiſh motives of her miniſters and her own views in favour of her brother, the Pretender; that become jealous of the connection of the confederates with the Whigs and the houſe of Hanover, ſhe had entered into a private negociation with Lewis; and was even willing, by favourable conditions, to procure ſupport againſt her former friends, from a prince whoſe power had been ſo lately broken by her arms, and for whoſe humiliation ſhe had exhauſted the wealth, and watered the earth with the blood of her ſubjects!

THE death of the princes of France, however, by exalting the hopes and increaſing the demands of the allies, obliged the Britiſh miniſtry to depart from their reſolution of ſending a third plenipotentiary to Utrecht, (for purpoſes beſt known to themſelves) and to urge Lewis XIV. as he valued the bleſſings of peace, to take ſome public ſtep, for preventing the crowns of France and Spain from being joined on the head of the ſame prince. To this end, they ſuggeſted different alternatives, out of which the French monarch might form a propoſal that ought to ſatisfy the allies. The principal of thoſe were, That Philip V. ſhould either reſign the crown of Spain, (a meaſure that would be more acceptable to the confederates

tates than any other) or transfer to his younger brother, the duke of Berry, his right to the crown of France; that, ſhould Philip conſent to the reſignation, his right to the crown of France would not only be preſerved entire, but in the meantime Naples and Sicily, the hereditary dominions of the houſe of Savoy, with the duchies of Montferrat and Mantua, ſhould be erected into a kingdom for him; that all thoſe territories ſhould be annexed to France, on Philip's acceſſion to that crown, except the iſland of Sicily, which ſhould, in ſuch event, be given to the houſe of Auſtria; and that Spain and her American dominions ſhould be conferred on the duke of Savoy, inſtead of his own dominions, and in full ſatisfaction of all his demands, as one of the confederates [44].

PHILIP V. as ſoon as the queſtion was ſubmitted to him, wiſely preferred the certain poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh throne to the precarious proſpect of a more deſirable ſucceſſion, with all the appendages the confederates could offer; but the heſitation of Lewis XIV. in acceding to either alternative, evidently ſhewed he had been flattered by the Britiſh miniſtry, that his grandſon ſhould not be obliged to make a ſolemn renunciation of the crown of France, and yet be permitted to wear that of Spain and the Indies. "A king of France," ſaid he, "ſucceeds not as heir, "but as maſter of the kingdom; the ſovereignty of "which belongs to him, not by *choice*, but by *birth-right*: he is obliged, for his crown, to no will of a "prior king, to no compact of the people, but to the "*law*; and this law is eſteemed the work of HIM who "eſtabliſhes monarchies. It can neither be invali-"dated by agreement, nor rendered void by renun-

44. *Mem.* de Torcy, tom. ii.

PART II. A. D. 1712.

"ciation: ſhould the king of Spain, therefore, re-"nounce his right, for the ſake of peace, that act "would only deceive himſelf, and diſappoint the "allies [45]."

SECRETARY St. John, who correſponded with the court of Verſailles on this delicate ſubject, admitted the French nation might hold, with what juſtice he did not preſume to ſay, That God alone can, in any poſſible inſtance, annul the law of ſucceſſion, be the inconveniences to ſociety ever ſo great, but that, in England, moſt men were of another way of thinking; that even ſuch as were moſt ſuperſtitiouſly devoted to monarchy believed, that a prince might forego his right, by a voluntary renunciation; and that the perſon, in whoſe favour the renunciation was made, might be juſtly ſupported by the princes who ſhould happen to be guarantees of the treaty. In a word, he declared, that an end muſt be put to all negociation, unleſs the French monarch would accept the expedient propoſed. Lewis was, at laſt, under the neceſſity of complying; and it was agreed, that the renunciation of Philip V. ſhould be regiſtered in the books of the parliament of Paris, and ſolemnly received and ratified by the Cortes, or ſtates of Caſtile and Arragon [46].

As

45. Id. Ibid. 46. *Mem.* de Torcy, ubi ſup. Queen Anne's expreſſions to her parliament, on this ſubject, are very forcible. "For "confirming the renunciations and ſettlements before mentioned," ſays ſhe, "it is offered that they ſhall be ratified in the moſt ſtrong and ſo-"lemn manner, both in France and Spain; and that thoſe kingdoms, "as well as all the other powers engaged in the preſent war, ſhall be "guarantees to the ſame. But the nature of this article," adds ſhe, "is "ſuch, that it executes itſelf. The intereſt of Spain is to ſupport it: "and, in France, the perſons to whom that ſucceſſion is to belong, will "be ready and powerful enough to vindicate their own right. France "and

LETTER XXIII. A. D. 1712. June 5.

As ſoon as this important article was ſettled, the queen of England agreed to a ſuſpenſion of arms; and the immediate delivery of Dunkirk to the Britiſh troops, was the condition of that indulgence. Theſe circumſtances naturally lead us to examine the progreſs of the campaign.

THE duke of Ormond being appointed to the command of the Britiſh forces in Flanders, and of ſuch foreign troops as were in Britiſh pay, in the room of the duke of Marlborough, the whole confederate army, amounting to an hundred and twenty thouſand men, under prince Eugene, took the field toward the end of April. The French army, commanded by mareſchal Villars, was ſtrongly poſted behind the Scheld. But as prince Eugene found that the enemy

" and Spain are now more effectually divided than ever: and thus, by " the bleſſing of God, will a real balance of power be fixed in Europe, " and remain liable to as few accidents as human affairs can be exempted " from." (*Journals*, June 6, 1712.) Unfortunately this has not been the caſe; for although the monarchies of France and Spain have been hitherto divided, (not by the renunciation of Philip V. but in conſequence of the recovery of the young dauphin, afterward Lewis XV.) the two courts have generally been as intimately united in policy, as if the two crowns had been placed on the head of the ſame prince: and the extraordinary exertions of Great Britain, both by land and ſea, which have far exceeded all human credibility in vigour, and all political calculation of the expence ſhe could poſſibly bear, only could have thus long preſerved the liberties of Europe.

Inſtead of allowing Philip V. the alternative of retaining the crown of Spain, the Britiſh miniſtry ought to have inſiſted on his abſolute reſignation of that crown, for the eventual ſucceſſion to the crown of France, with the immediate poſſeſſion of the kingdom offered him in Italy, eſpecially as his grandfather, Lewis XIV. (as he himſelf informs us, in his ſpeech to the Cortes) would have agreed more readily to this than to his renunciation of his right to the crown of France, as it afforded a proſpect of extending the French monarchy. But that extenſion, ſhould it even have taken place, (as we now certainly know it would not) could not have proved ſo dangerous to the liberties of Europe, as the *Family Compact* between the two branches of the houſe of Bourbon.

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had not taken every advantage of their ſituation, he made diſpoſitions for attacking them, in hopes of concluding the war with a ſplendid victory; or at leaſt of forcing Villars to retire, and leave Cambray expoſed to a ſiege. He accordingly communicated his intentions to Ormond. And the heſitation of the Engliſh general, to return a poſitive anſwer, confirmed that penetrating genius in the ſuſpicions he had for ſome time entertained, that the duke had orders not to act offenſively [47]. Filled with indignation at a diſcovery ſo fatal to his own glory, as well as to the common cauſe of the confederates, the prince of Savoy made known his unhappy ſituation to the field-deputies of the States, and to the imperial miniſter at Utrecht. The States ſent immediately inſtructions to their ambaſſador at the court of London to remonſtrate on the ſubject. And the purport of thoſe inſtructions was no ſooner known, than a motion was made in the Houſe of Commons, for preſenting an addreſs to her majeſty, "That ſpeedy orders may "be given to her general in Flanders, to proſe-"cute the war with the utmoſt vigour, in conjunc-"tion with her allies, as the beſt means to obtain a "ſafe and honourable peace [48]." A motion to the ſame effect was made in the Houſe of Lords; but the miniſtry having now a decided majority in both houſes, theſe ſalutary motions were rejected with a degree of diſdain, and the remonſtrances of the Dutch ambaſſador diſregarded. Ormond continued inactive.

NOTHING can place the ignominy of this cruel inaction, and the ſhameful duplicity of the Britiſh miniſtry, in a ſtronger light, than a letter which the States

47. Burnet, book vii. *Gen. Hiſt. of Europe*, 1712.
48. *Journals*, May 28, 1712.

afterward

afterward ſent to queen Anne. "It is impoſſible," ſay they, "but we ſhould be *ſurpriſed* and *afflicted*, by "two declarations we have lately received from your "Majeſty: the firſt, by the duke of Ormond, your "general, That he could *undertake nothing* without *new* "*orders* from You; the other, by the biſhop of "Briſtol, your plenipotentiary to the congreſs at "Utrecht, That, perceiving we did not *anſwer* as we "*ought*, the *propoſals* which you had made Us, and that "we would not *act* in *concert* with *your miniſter* on the "*ſubject of peace*, you would *take* your *meaſures apart*; "and that you did not look upon yourſelf to be now "*under any engagements* with Us." In regard to the firſt, add they, "Have we not juſt reaſon to be *ſur-* "*priſed*, after the *aſſurance* which your Majeſty had "given Us by your letters, by your miniſters, and "laſtly by your general, the duke of Ormond, of "your *intentions* that your troops ſhould be *ordered* to "*act* with their uſual *vigour*, when we find a ſtop put, "*by an order in your Majeſty's name*, without our know- "ledge, and certainly without the knowledge of your "other allies, to the operations of the confederate "army?—the fineſt and ſtrongeſt, perhaps, which "has been in the field during the whole courſe of the "war; and this after they had marched, *according to* "*the reſolution taken in concert with your Majeſty's general*, "almoſt up to the enemy, with a great ſuperiority "both as to number and goodneſs of troops, and ani- "mated with a noble courage and zeal to acquit "themſelves bravely!—We are ſorry to ſee ſo fine an "opportunity loſt, to the ineſtimable prejudice of "the common cauſe of the High Allies.

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"NOR can we forbear telling your Majeſty," continue they, "that the declaration made by the

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" biſhop of Briſtol, at Utrecht, has no leſs ſurpriſed " Us, than that of the duke of Ormond in the army. " All the *propoſals* hitherto made to Us, on the *ſubject* " *of Peace*, were *couched* in very *general terms*. In ſome " of the laſt conferences, it is true, your Majeſty's " miniſters demanded to know whether ours were " furniſhed with a *full power*, and *authoriſed* to *draw* " *up* a PLAN for the PEACE. But it had been juſt, " before ſuch a thing was demanded of Us, that they " had *communicated* the *reſult* of the *negociations* ſo long " treated of *between your Majeſty's miniſters and thoſe of* " *the Enemy*; or, at leaſt, they ſhould have *told Us*, your " Majeſty's *thoughts*, on a *matter* which we *ought* to " have *concerted together*. Yet had that plan related " only to your Majeſty's intereſt and ours, we ſhould " perhaps have been in the wrong not to have come " immediately into it; but as the plan in queſtion " concerned the intereſt of all the Allies, and of al- " moſt all Europe, we had very ſtrong apprehenſions, " that the *particular negociations* between your Majeſty's " miniſters and thoſe of France, and the *readineſs* " with which we *conſented* to the congreſs at Utrecht, " might have given his Imperial Majeſty and the other " Allies ground to entertain prejudicial thoughts, as if " it had been the *intention* of your Majeſty and of Us, " to *abandon* the *Grand Alliance* and the *common cauſe*, " by which they might have been puſhed on to *ſepa-* " *rate meaſures*. We thought theſe reaſons ſtrong " enough to juſtify our conduct to your majeſty on " this head; and as we had nowiſe *engaged* to *enter* with " your Majeſty into a *concert* to *draw up a Plan* of " *Peace*, *without* the *participation* of the *other members* " of the *Grand Alliance*, the *backwardneſs* we have ſhewn " to that *propoſal* cannot be conſidered as a *contraven-* " *tion* of OUR engagements; and, therefore, cannot

"ſerve to *diſengage* your Majeſty from *yours*, with "reſpect to Us. In truth, if *for ſuch a cauſe*, between "potentates *united* by the *ſtrongeſt* and *ſtricteſt ties* of "*alliance*, *intereſt*, and *religion*, any of thoſe poten- "tates could *quit* their *engagements*, and *diſengage* them- "ſelves from all their *obligations*, there is no tie among "men that might not be *broken*, and we know of no "engagements that could be relied on in time to "come [49]."

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THERE would certainly have been more *frankneſs* and *dignity*, though not more *honeſty*, and even more *advantage*, in boldly concluding at once a ſeparate treaty with France, than in betraying the common cauſe by ſuch *double dealing*. This St. John, who was himſelf deeply concerned in that "double dealing," very candidly acknowledges. France, ſays he, would have granted more to Great Britain for peace, than for a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities; and the allies, ſeeing no poſſibility of altering the meaſures of queen Anne, would neither have attempted to diſturb her councils, in hopes of inducing her to continue the war, nor have proſecuted it themſelves with that intemperate ardour, which proved the cauſe of their ſubſequent misfor- tunes. "Better conditions would have been obtained "for the whole confederacy [50]:" and the Britiſh miniſ- try, it may be added, inſtead of the accumulated infamy of *treachery*, would only have merited the reproach of being guilty of a flagrant *violation* of PUBLIC FAITH.

DURING the altercation and ſuſpenſe occaſioned by the inactivity of the duke of Ormond, prince Eugene

49. Printed *Letter*, preſerved in many periodical publications, and particularly in the *Monthly Mercury*, for June 1712.

50. Bolingbroke's *Sketch of the Hiſt. and State of Europe.*

laid

PART II. A. D. 1712. laid ſiege to Queſnoy; and, in order to encourage the confederates, and aſtoniſh the enemy, by a bold enterpriſe, he privately detached major-general Groveſtein, with fifteen hundred choice troops, dragoons and huſſars, to penetrate into the heart of France. This officer, having entered Champagne, paſſed the Noire, the Maeſe, the Moſelle, and the Saar; levied contributions as far as the gates of Metz; ſpread conſternation even to Verſailles; and after ravaging the country, and carrying off a rich booty, together with a number of hoſtages, retired leiſurely toward Traerbach. Meanwhile the ſiege of Queſnoy was proſecuted with ſuch vigour, that the place was taken almoſt by aſſault, and the garriſon ſurrendered priſoners of war[51].

July 4.

THESE ſucceſſes greatly elevated the ſpirits of the Dutch and Imperialiſts, depreſſed by the inactivity of the duke of Ormond; but when, inſtead of an order to co-operate with them againſt the common enemy, which they daily expected, he made known to them a ceſſation of arms between France and England, their former dejection returned. Their hopes, however, were in ſome meaſure revived, when they underſtood that the *foreign troops* in the *pay* of Great Britain *refuſed* to *obey* his *command*. This refuſal reduced the duke to a ſtate of the utmoſt perplexity, and threw the Britiſh miniſtry into no ſmall conſternation. They had not only loſt the confidence of the allies, but fallen under the diſtruſt of the court of Verſailles. The king of France therefore thought proper to ſuſpend his mandate for the delivery of Dunkirk, until "*all* the *troops* in the *pay* of Great Britain "ſhould *quit* the army of the confederates." But on

51, Burnet, book vii. *Gen. Hiſt. of Europe*, 1712.

poſitive

poſitive orders being ſent to the duke of Ormond, to *ſeparate* the *Britiſh forces* from thoſe of the allies," and aſſurances given to the French monarch, by the expreſs command of queen Anne, that the confederates ſhould receive no more of her *money*, the ſcruples of Lewis were quieted. Ormond fulfilled his inſtructions, by retiring toward Ghent with the Britiſh troops, and Dunkirk was delivered to brigadier Hill [52].

THE Britiſh forces had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a remarkable manner, during the whole courſe of this celebrated war, and almoſt in every battle gave the turn to victory. Their example had perhaps been of yet greater ſervice than their efforts, though theſe were tranſcendently heroic. Prince Eugene, however, to ſhew the allies, that he was ſtill able to purſue his conqueſts, notwithſtanding the withdrawing of ſo gallant a body of men, advanced to Landracy, and laid ſiege to that important place. Villars received orders to attempt its relief. The French general accordingly put his army in motion, as if he meant to give battle to the main body of the confederates; but, after making a feint of advancing toward their right, he turned ſuddenly off to the left, and marching all night, July 24. attacked unexpectedly a detachment of fourteen thouſand men, which had been placed at Denain, under the earl of Albemarle, in order to favour the paſſage of the convoys from Marchiennes. This detachment was quickly routed, and almoſt utterly deſtroyed. Four thouſand fugitives men only eſcaped to the principal army [53]. Beſide the loſs ſuſtained in the action, fifteen hundred men were drowned in the Scheld, and two thouſand fell into the hands of the

52. Id. ibid. De Torcy, tom. ii. 53. *Relation* ſent by the earl of Albemarle to the States, and other papers in the *Monthly Mercury* for July, Auguſt, and September, 1712.

victors;

PART II. victors; among whom was the earl of Albemarle, with many other officers of diſtinction [54].
A.D. 1712.

Prince Eugene, who was marching to the aſſiſtance of Albemarle, in order to prevent this diſaſter, had the mortification to arrive, when his aid could be of no uſe to his friends. In a fit of deſpair, he ordered the bridges on the Scheld, near Denain, to be attacked, and wantonly threw away the lives of a thouſand men; for had the bridges been abandoned to him, he would not have been able to croſs the river, in the face of the French army [55]. He failed, however, in the attempt. Yet would he have continued the ſiege of Landracy, and might perhaps have become maſter of the place, notwithſtanding this check; but the field-deputies of the States obliged him to relinquiſh the enterpriſe, and retire to Mons [56]. Meanwhile Villars, having taken Marchiennes, where all the magazines of the confederates were depoſited; and being now uncontrouled maſter of the field, reduced ſucceſſively Doway, Quesnoy, and Bouchain [57]. Theſe conqueſts cloſed the operations in Flanders. No enterpriſe of conſequence was undertaken, during the campaign, in any other quarter.

July 30.

The court of Verſailles was highly elated, by a ſucceſs ſo unexpected and extraordinary. Nor was the joy of the Britiſh miniſtry, at the change of affairs in Flanders, leſs ſincere, though leſs public. They were ſenſible that the body of the confederates, unleſs loſt to all ſenſe of prudence, would no longer attempt to continue the war, ſhould Great Britain deſert the Grand Alliance; and conſequently the Whigs, their political enemies, already humbled,

54 Id ibid. 55. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii. 56. Id. ibid. 57. *Gaz. Hiſt. of Europe*, 1712.

would

would become ſtill leſs formidable. In this conjecture they were not deceived. The eyes of the Dutch, who had moſt to apprehend, were firſt opened to their own perilous ſituation, and to the neceſſity of renewing the conferences at Utrecht, which had been for ſome time interrupted. Inſtead of preſcribing terms to the houſe of Bourbon, they now acceded to the plan of pacification ſettled between Great Britain and France. Their example was followed by the duke of Savoy and the king of Portugal. And the emperor, though reſolute to continue the war, finding himſelf unable to ſupport any military operations in Spain, agreed to the evacuation of Catalonia [58]; and, by that meaſure, indirectly acknowledged the title of Philip V.

LETTER XXIII. A.D. 1713.

DURING theſe approaches toward a general pacification, queen Anne was eagerly ſolicited by the Jacobites, to take ſome ſtep in favour of the Pretender. In order to quiet the fears of the Engliſh nation, excited by his connexion with France, he had left St Germains the preceding ſummer, and now reſided at Bar, in the territories of the duke of Lorrain. And although the queen's jealouſy of her own authority, and perhaps her natural timidity, heightened by the inſinuations of Oxford, made her decline all propoſals for calling her brother into the kingdom, or repealing the Act of Settlement, ſhe was very anxious to concert with Lewis XIV. ſome plan for his acceſſion to the throne, after her death [59]. What meaſures were taken for that purpoſe, and how they were fruſtrated, I ſhall afterward have occaſion to notice. It will, therefore, be ſufficient at preſent to obſerve, That the earl of Oxford artfully broke the de-

58. Id ibid. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii. 59. *Stuart Papers*, 1712, 1713. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii.

figns

PART II. A. D. 1710.

ſigns of the queen, and rendered abortive the ſchemes of the Jacobites, by dividing their councils.

OXFORD, however, continued to forward the peace, as neceſſary to the ſecurity of his own power, which he hoped to preſerve during the life of his miſtreſs; and as the declining health of the queen left room to believe that her death could be no diſtant event, it is not impoſſible but the lord treaſurer, in ſecretly ſupporting the parliamentary ſettlement of the crown, might flatter himſelf with the proſpect of extending his adminiſtration even into the reign of her ſucceſſor. From theſe, or ſimilar motives, he defeated the intrigues of the Jacobites, at the ſame time that he haſtened the reſtoration of tranquillity to Europe. And the treaties between the different powers, ſo long negociated, were at laſt ſigned at Utrecht, on the 31ſt day of March, in the year 1713, by the plenipotentiaries of France, England, Portugal, Pruſſia, Savoy, and the United Provinces; the emperor reſolving to continue the war, and the king of Spain refuſing to ſign the ſtipulations until a principality ſhould be provided, in the Low Countries, for the princeſs Orſini the favourite of his queen[60].

THE chief articles of this famous pacification were to the following purport: That, whereas the ſecurity and liberties of Europe, can by no means bear the union of the crowns of France and Spain under one and the ſame prince, Philip V. now eſtabliſhed on the Spaniſh throne, ſhall renounce all right to the crown of France; that the dukes of Berry and Orleans, the next heirs to the French monarchy after the infant Dauphin, ſhall, in like manner, renounce all right

60. Id. ibid. *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. iii.

to

to the crown of Spain, in the event of their accession to the crown of France: That, in default of Philip V. and his male iſſue, the ſucceſſion of Spain and the Indies ſhall be ſecured to the duke of Savoy; that the iſland of Sicily ſhall be inſtantly ceded, by his Catholic majeſty, to the ſame prince, with the title of king; that France ſhall alſo cede to him the vallies of Pragelas, Oulx, Sezanne, Bardonache, and Chattau-Dauphin, with the forts of Exilles and Feneſtrelles, and reſtore to him the duchy of Savoy and the county of Nice, with their dependencies: That the full property and ſovereignty of both banks, and the navigation of the Maragnon, or river of Amazons, in South America, ſhall belong to the king of Portugal: That Spaniſh Guelderland, with the ſovereignty of Neufchatel and Valengin, ſhall be ceded to the king of Pruſſia, in exchange for the principality of Orange, and the lordſhips of Chalons and Chaſtelbelin, in the kingdom of France and county of Burgundy, and that his regal title ſhall be acknowledged: That the Rhine ſhall form the boundary of the German empire on the ſide of France; and that all fortifications, beyond that river, claimed by France, or in the poſſeſſion of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, ſhall either be relinquiſhed to the emperor or deſtroyed: That in Italy, the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and the Spaniſh territories on the Tuſcan ſhore, ſhall be ceded to the houſe of Auſtria; that the ſovereignty of the Spaniſh Netherlands ſhall likewiſe be ſecured to the houſe of Auſtria; but that the elector of Bavaria (to whom they had been granted by Philip V.) ſhall retain the ſovereignty of ſuch places as are ſtill in his poſſeſſion, until he ſhall be reinſtated in all his German dominions except the Upper Palatinate, and alſo be put in poſſeſſion of the iſland of Sardinia, with the title

LETTER XXIII. A.D. 1713.

of

PART II. of king: That Luxemburg, Namur and Charl[illegible], A. D. 1713. ſhall be given to the States-general of the United Provinces, as a barrier, together with Mons, Menin, Tournay, and other places already in their poſſeſſion: That Liſle, Aire, Bethune, and St. Venant, ſhall be reſtored to France: That, on the part of Great Britain, the French monarch ſhall acknowledge the title of Queen Anne, and the eventual ſucceſſion of the family of Hanover to the Britiſh throne; that the fortifications of Dunkirk (the cauſe of much jealouſy to England, and raiſed at vaſt expence to France) ſhall be demoliſhed, and the harbour filled up; that certain places in North America and the Weſt Indies ſhall be ceded or reſtored, by France to Great Britain; namely, the iſland of St. Chriſtopher, (which had long been poſſeſſed jointly by the French and Engliſh, but from which the French had been expelled, in 1702); Hudſon's Bay and Streights, (where the French had founded a ſettlement, but without diſpoſſeſſing the Engliſh, and carried on a rival trade during the war); the town of Placentia, in the iſland of Newfoundland, (where the French had been ſuffered to eſtabliſh themſelves, through the negligence of government); and the long diſputed province of Nova Scotia, (into which the French had early intruded themſelves, out of which they had been frequently driven, and which had been finally conquered by an army from New England in 1710): That the iſland of Minorca and the fortreſs of Gibraltar (conquered from Spain) ſhall remain in the poſſeſſion of Great Britain; and that the *Aſſiento*, or contract for furniſhing the Spaniſh colonies in South America with negroes, ſhall belong to the ſubjects of Great Britain, for the term of thirty years [61].

THAT

61. Printed Treaties, in the *Monthly Mercury*, Tindal's *Contin.* of Rapin,

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A.D. 1713

THAT theſe conditions, eſpecially on the part of Great Britain, were very inadequate to the ſucceſs and expence of the war, will be denied by no intelligent man, whoſe underſtanding is not warped by political prejudices; and the commercial treaty, which was concluded at the ſame time, between France and England, was evidently, as I ſhall afterward have occaſion to ſhew, to the diſadvantage of the latter kingdom. The other confederates had more cauſe to be ſatisfied, and the emperor Charles VI. as much as any of them; yet was he obſtinate in refuſing to ſign the general pacification, though two months were allowed him to deliberate on the terms. But he had ſoon reaſon to repent his raſhneſs in reſolving to continue the war alone; for although he had prudently concluded a treaty with the Hungarian malcontents, in conſequence of which twenty-two regiments of his rebel ſubjects entered into his ſervice, the imperial army on the Rhine, commanded by prince Eugene, was never in a condition to face the French under Villars, who took ſucceſſively Worms, Spire, Keiſerlauter, and the important fortreſs of Landau. He forced the paſſage of the Rhine; attacked and defeated general Vaubonne in his entrenchments, and reduced Friburg, the capital of Briſgaw, before the cloſe of the campaign [61].

UNWILLING to proſecute a diſaſtrous war, the emperor began ſeriouſly to think of peace; and conferences, which afterward terminated in a pacific treaty,

Rapin, &c. The *Aſſiento*, which led to a lucrative contraband trade to the Spaniſh Main, proved the moſt advantageous article in favour of Great Britain. It was, however, no ſacrifice on the part of Spain, the ſame privilege having been formerly enjoyed by France.

61. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xxii. *State of Europe*, 1713.

PART II. A.D. 1714.

were opened, between prince Eugene and mareſchal Villars, at Raſtadt. The terms of this treaty, which was concluded on the 6th of March, 1714, were leſs favourable to the emperor than thoſe offered at Utrecht. The king of France retained Landau, which he had formerly propoſed to cede, together with ſeveral fortreſſes beyond the Rhine, which he had agreed to demoliſh. He got the electors of Bavaria and Cologne fully re-eſtabliſhed in their dominions and dignities; the elector of Bavaria conſenting to relinquiſh the iſland of Sardinia to the emperor, in return for the Upper Palatinate, and the king of France to acknowledge, in form, the electoral dignity of the duke of Hanover[62]. The principal articles, in regard to Italy and the Low Countries, were the ſame with thoſe ſettled at Utrecht.

About the time that the treaty of Raſtadt was concluded, the king of Spain acceded to the general pacification; being perſuaded by his grandfather, Lewis XIV. to forego his abſurd demand in favour of the princeſs Orſini. But Philip V. although now freed from all apprehenſions on the part of the confederates, was by no means in quiet poſſeſſion of his kingdom. The Catalans were ſtill in arms, and the inhabitants of Barcelona had come to a reſolution of defending themſelves to the laſt extremity; not, however, as has been repreſented by ſome hiſtorians, from any romantic idea of eſtabliſhing an independent republic, but with a view of preſerving their lives and their civil rights, all who had revolted being threatened with the juſtice of the ſword. Had the court of Madrid uſed a more moderate language, Barcelona would have capitulated immediately after the departure of the Imperialiſts.

62. Printed Treaty in the *Monthly Mercury*, &c.

But

But as nothing was talked of by the Spaniſh miniſters and generals but ſevere retribution, the people became furious and deſperate [63]. LETTER XXIII. A. D. 1714.

VAST preparations were made for the reduction of this important place. And the duke of Berwick, being a third time inveſted with the chief command in Spain, ſat down before it with an army compoſed of fifty battalions of French, and twenty of Spaniſh foot, together with fifty-one ſquadrons of horſe; while another army, divided into different bodies, kept the country in awe, and a French and Spaniſh fleet cut off all communication with the town by ſea. He had eighty-ſeven pieces of heavy cannon, fifteen hundred thouſand weight of powder, and every thing elſe in profuſion, that could be thought of for facilitating a ſiege. The garriſon of Barcelona conſiſted of ſixteen thouſand men, and the fortifications were formidable, eſpecially on the ſide toward the land. The duke of Berwick made his attack on the ſide next the ſea, where the operations were more eaſy, by reaſon of certain eminences, behind which ſeveral battalions might be placed under cover; and where the curtains of the baſtions being much raiſed, offered a fair mark for the cannon of the beſiegers [64].

AFTER the trenches had been opened about a month, a breach was made in the baſtion of St. Clara, and a lodgement effected; but the aſſailants were ſuddenly driven from their poſt, with the loſs of a thouſand men. This misfortune, and the vigorous reſiſtance of the beſieged, determined the duke of Berwick to hazard no more partial attacks. Aug. 13.

63. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii.

64. Id. ibid.

PART II. A.D. 1714. He reſolved to lay the front of the place ſo completely level, that he might enter it, as it were, in line of battle. And he accompliſhed his purpoſe, by patience and perſeverance. But before he ordered the general aſſault, he ſummoned the town to ſurrender. So great, however, was the obſtinacy of the citizens, that, although their proviſions were almoſt exhauſted, though ſeven breaches had been made in the body of the place, and no probability remained of their receiving either aid or ſupply, they hung out a flag of defiance, and refuſed to liſten to any terms of capitulation!—The aſſault was made, and repelled with fury. At length, after ſtruggling from day-break till three in the afternoon, and being driven from moſt of their works, the inhabitants demanded a parley. It was granted them. But they could obtain no conditions, except a promiſe that their lives ſhould be ſafe, and that the town ſhould not be plundered. That promiſe was religiouſly obſerved by the duke of Berwick, who had loſt ten thouſand men during the ſiege, and the citizens about ſix thouſand[65]. All Catalonia ſubmitted; and the Catalans were diſarmed, and ſtript of their ancient privileges.

Sept. 11.

THIS, my dear Philip, to uſe the language of an elegant hiſtorian, was the laſt flame of that great fire, kindled by the will of Charles II. of Spain, which had ſo long laid waſte the fineſt countries in Europe[66]. I ought now to carry forward the adventures of Charles XII. and the affairs of the North; but perſpicuity requires, that I firſt elucidate thoſe intrigues, which we have ſeen gathering in the court of England.

65. Duke of Berwick, ubi ſup. 66. Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xxii.

LET-

LETTER XXIV.

GREAT BRITAIN, *from the Peace of* UTRECHT, *to the Suppreſſion of the Rebellion, in* 1715, *with ſome Account of the Affairs of* FRANCE, *and the Intrigues of the Court of* ST. GERMAINS.

THE peace of Utrecht, though in itſelf an unpopular meaſure, afforded the Engliſh miniſtry a momentary triumph over their political adverſaries, and highly raiſed the hopes of the Jacobites; who flattered themſelves, that the reſtoration of general tranquillity would enable the queen to take ſome effectual ſtep in favour of the Pretender, whoſe intereſts ſhe ſeemed now to have ſincerely at heart. But it will be neceſſary, my dear Philip, the better to illuſtrate this matter, to go a few years back, and collect ſuch particulars relative to the court of St. Germains, as could not readily enter into the general narration. LETTER XXIV. A.D. 1713.

IN the beginning of the year 1711, the abbé Gualtier, who was employed in the ſecret negociations between France and England, waited upon the duke of Berwick, at St. Germains, with propoſals from the earl of Oxford, for the reſtoration of the Pretender. Theſe propoſals were in ſubſtance, That provided queen Anne ſhould be permitted to enjoy the crown in tranquillity during her life, ſhe would ſecure to her brother the poſſeſſion of it, after her death; and that ſufficient ſtipulations ſhould be ſigned, on his ſide, for the preſervation of the church of England and the liberties of the kingdom[1]. Theſe preliminaries be- A.D. 1711.

1. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii.

PART II. A. D. 1711.

ing settled, says the duke of Berwick, who conducted the affairs of the Pretender, we consulted on the means of executing the business; but the abbé could not at that time, enter into any particulars, as the lord treasurer had not yet fully explained to him his intentions. It was necessary, Oxford said, that the peace should be concluded before the English ministry could venture upon so delicate a measure [2].

MEANWHILE such of the Jacobites as were nearest the person of the queen, perceiving her inclinations, urged her perpetually to concert some plan for the restoration of the Pretender. Sincere in her own attachment to the church of England, she signified her desire that he should abjure popery, and place himself in a capacity of being *served*. But finding him obstinate, she replied, when urged by the duke of Buckingham to alter the succession in his favour, "How can I serve him? He takes not the least "step to oblige me, in what I most desire. You "know a papist cannot enjoy this crown in peace. "But the example of the father has no weight with "the son; he prefers his religious errors to the "throne of a great kingdom. How, therefore, can I "undo what I have already done! He may thank "himself for his exclusion. He knows I love my "own family better than any other. All would be "easy, if he would enter the pale of the church of

2. Id ibid. "Though it appeared to me," adds the duke of Berwick, "that one of these points was no hindrance to the other; yet, "in order to shew that we would omit nothing to promote the interest "of the Pretender, and to give proofs of our sincerity, we wrote to all "the Jacobites to join with the court. And their influence contributed "greatly to make the queen's party so superior in the house of com-"mons, that every thing was carried there according to her wishes." This information is confirmed by the *Stuart* and *Hanover Papers*.

England;

" England. Adviſe him to change his religion; as LETTER XXIV.
" that only can turn the opinion of the people in his
" [illegible][3]." A.D. 1713.

THE duke of Buckingham conveyed this anſwer to the court of St. Germains; and, at the ſame time, ſeconded the requeſt of the queen. But his arguments were all loſt on the Pretender, who was a zealous catholic, and made a matter of conſcience in adhering to his religion, in defiance of all prudential conſiderations[4]; an irrefragable proof of the moſt incurable and dangerous weakneſs in a prince, however commendable in a private perſon. For, as a ſenſible writer obſerves, if a king is not willing to go to heaven in the ſame way with his people, they will ſcarce acknowledge the legality of his authority on earth[5]. And a man who could relinquiſh his hopes of a great kingdom, for a ſpeculative point of faith, diſcovered a ſpirit of bigotry, that would have ſacrificed all civil engagements to the propagation of that faith. He was not fit to be truſted with power.

THE majority of the Tories, however, in their vehement zeal for the hereditary deſcent of the crown, overlooked the danger of the Pretender's attachment to the Romiſh religion; and aſſured him, That ſhould he only *conform*, in *appearance*, to the church of England, without the formality of a public recantation, they would endeavour to procure the *immediate* repeal of the Act of Settlement[6]. But Oxford, who never loſt ſight of the Proteſtant Succeſſion or the ſecurity of his own power, aſſured the duke of Berwick, by the abbé Gualtier, on his return to

3. *Stuart Papers*, 1712.
4. Id. ibid.
5. Macpherſon, *Hiſt. Brit.* vol. ii.
6. *Stuart Papers*, 1712.

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France, in 1712. That the Pretender muſt ſtill have patience; that the leaſt hint of queen Anne's intentions in favour of her brother would give the Whigs occaſion to exclaim loudly againſt the court, and might not only deſtroy the neceſſary buſineſs of the peace, but perhaps occaſion a change in the miniſtry, and even a revolution in the ſtate; that it was beſide neceſſary to make ſure of the army, the requiſite ſteps for which could not be taken till after the peace was ſigned, when it would be reduced, and ſuch officers only retained as could be depended on [7].

THE plauſibility of theſe arguments quieted the Jacobites, and the court of St. Germains, for a time. But when the peace was concluded, and the army reduced, yet no effectual ſtep taken in favour of the Pretender, his own uneaſineſs and the anxiety of his partizans began to return. They preſſed Oxford to fulfil his engagements; repreſenting to him, That, as there never could be a houſe of commons better diſpoſed to ſecond the views of the queen, he had only to propoſe the repeal of the Act of Settlement, and it would immediately be voted. It was neceſſary, he replied, to proceed more gently in the buſineſs; but that they might make themſelves eaſy, as he was ſeriouſly at work in the cauſe [8]. "In this manner," ſays the duke of Berwick, "did the lord-treaſurer "amuſe us; and it was difficult to prevent his doing "ſo. To have broke with him, would have proved the "utter ruin of our affairs, as he had the adminiſtration "of England in his hands, and entirely governed "queen Anne. We were, therefore, forced to *pre-* "*tend* to truſt him; but we neglected not, at the "ſame time, privately to concert meaſures with the

7. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii. 8. Id. ibid.

"duke

" duke of Ormond, and other well affected perſons, " that we might be able to bring about the reſtora- " tion of the Pretender, if Oxford ſhould fail us[9]."

A. D. 1713.

OXFORD, indeed, ſtood on ſuch dangerous ground, that he durſt not undertake any bold meaſure, whatever might be his inclinations. Equally diſtruſted by both Whigs and Tories, he was deſtitute of friends: his whole ſecurity conſiſted in the jealouſy of the two parties, and his whole buſineſs was to balance them. In order to ſilence the clamours of the Whigs, he prevailed upon the queen to declare, in her ſpeech to the parliament, contrary to her own inclinations and to truth, That "the moſt perfect friendſhip ſubſiſted " between her and the houſe of Hanover," at the ſame time that ſhe mentioned what ſhe had done for ſecuring the Proteſtant Succeſſion [10]. This declaration had the deſired effect. But Oxford was leſs ſucceſsful in other meaſures.

THE peace was generally diſliked by the people, and all impartial men reprobated the treaty of commerce with France, as ſoon as the terms were known. Exception was particularly taken againſt the eighth and ninth articles, importing, "That Great Britain " and France ſhould mutually enjoy all the privileges " in trading with each other, which either granted " to the moſt favoured nation; that all prohibitions " ſhould be removed, and no higher duties impoſed " on the French commodities than on thoſe of any " other people." The ruinous tendency of theſe articles was perceived by the whole trading part of the kingdom. It was accordingly urged, when a bill was

9. *Mem.* vol. ii.

10. Journals, Ap. 9, 1713.

brought

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brought into the houſe of commons, for confirming them, That our trade with Portugal, the moſt beneficial of any, would be loſt, ſhould the duties on French and Portugueſe wines be made equal, the freight from Portugal being higher, and the French wines more generally agreeable to the taſte of the Engliſh nation. And if we did not conſume the wines of Portugal, it was unreaſonable to think the Portugueſe would continue to purchaſe our manufactures, in balance for which we received, in bullion or ſpecie, near a million ſterling annually; that we could expect from France no equivalent for this loſs, as the French had eſtabliſhed woollen manufactures, ſufficient not only to ſupply themſelves, but even to rival us in foreign markets; that our ſilk manufacture, which employed a number of people, and ſaved a vaſt ſum annually to the nation, would be ruined, ſhould a free importation of ſilk ſtuffs, from France, be permitted; and likewiſe our trade to Italy and Turky, where we diſpoſed of great quantities of woollen goods, in exchange for the raw material of this manufacture; that the ruin of our manufactures of linen and paper would alſo be the conſequence of a free importation of thoſe articles from France, as the cheapneſs of labour and proviſions in that kingdom would enable the French to underſel us, even in our own markets[11]. Theſe, and ſimilar arguments, induced the more moderate Tories to join the Whigs, and the bill was rejected by a majority of nine votes.

ENCOURAGED by this ſucceſs, and juſtly alarmed for the ſafety of the Proteſtant Succeſſion, the Whigs endeavoured to awaken the fears of the people, by ſeveral virulent ſpeeches in parliament againſt the Pre-

11. *Parl. Debates*, 1713. Burnet, book vii.

tender,

tender, at the same time that they solicited the elector of Hanover to come over in person, or to send the electoral prince to England. Both these proposals the elector very prudently rejected. But, in order to gratify, in some degree, the ardour of his partizans, to embarrass the British ministry, and even to intimidate queen Anne, he allowed Schutz, his envoy at the court of London, to demand a writ for the electoral prince to sit in the house of peers, as duke of Cambridge[12]. Oxford and his associates were filled with consternation at a request so unexpected, and the queen was agitated with all the violence of passion. Her resentment was increased by the exultation of the Whigs. Seeming to derive vigour from her very terror, she declared, That she would sooner suffer the loss of her crown, than permit any prince of the House of Hanover to come over to Britain to reside in her lifetime. And Schutz was forbid to appear any more at court, under pretence that he had exceeded his instructions[13].

LETTER XXIV.

A.D. 1713.

A.D. 1714.

WHETHER the elector had ever any serious intention of sending his son to England may be questioned, though he represented, in a memorial to queen Anne, "That for the security of her royal person, "her kingdoms, and the protestant religion, it seem- "necessary to settle in Britain some prince of the "electoral family[14];" but it is certain that the Jacobites had formed a design of bringing over the Pretender, and that he himself and his adherents entertained the most sanguine expectations of his speedy exaltation to the throne. These expectations were heightened by the *promised* regulation of the army.

12. *Hanover Papers*, April, 1714.

13. Id. ibid.

14. *Hanover Papers*, May, 1714.

The

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The duke of Argyle, the earl of Stair, and all other officers of diſtinction, whom the Jacobites and more violent Tories ſuſpected would ſupport the Act of Settlement, were removed from their military employments; and the command of the whole regular troops in the kingdom was veſted in the hands of the duke of Ormond and his creatures, who were known to be well affected to the excluded family.

THIS meaſure, however, of which St. John, now created lord Bolingbroke, not Oxford, was the author, is ſaid to have been dictated by a jealouſy of the ambitious deſigns of the Whigs and the houſe of Hanover (who are accuſed of having formed a ſcheme for ſeizing the reins of government) rather than by any attachment to the intereſts of the Pretender. But be that as it may, we know that a meaſure fatal to the Pretender's views was adopted by the Britiſh miniſtry, in order to quiet the fears of the elector, and to engage him to keep his ſon at home; queen Anne's fears from the family of Hanover being ultimately more than a a balance to her affection for her own.

INFORMATION having been obtained, by the vigilance of the earl of Wharton, that certain Iriſh officers were enliſting men for the Pretender, they were taken into cuſtody. The people were alarmed, and the Whigs added artfully to their fears. The lord treaſurer, in concert with the Whigs, wrought ſo much on the natural timidity of the duke of Shrewſbury, that he joined him on this occaſion; and, through their combined influence, the majority of the cabinet-council agreed to iſſue a proclamation, promiſing a reward of five thouſand pounds for

for apprehending the Pretender, ſhould he land in Great Britain. The two houſes of parliament voted an addreſs of thanks to the queen for her attention to the religion and liberties of the kingdom; and the commons, in their zeal for the Proteſtant Succeſſion, extended the reward for apprehending the Pretender to one hundred thouſand pounds [15]. A. D. 1714

THAT prince, however, perſuaded that the queen and the chief nobility and gentry, whatever ſteps they might take to quiet the populace, were ſincerely in his intereſt, did not yet deſpair of being able to aſcend the throne of his anceſtors:—and the proſpect of a change in the miniſtry inſpired him with new hopes. Bolingbroke, by flattering the prejudices of his miſtreſs, had gradually ſupplanted the earl of Oxford in her confidence. He repreſented to her the languor of the lord treaſurer's meaſures: he gave inſinuations concerning his ſecret intrigues with the Whigs; and he ſuggeſted to her, that to pay any attention, in future, to the houſe of Hanover was incompatible with her ſervice [16]. Similar repreſentations were made by the duke of Ormond, and other Jacobites, whom the duke of Berwick eagerly ſolicited to procure the removal of the lord high treaſurer, as a neceſſary prelude to the accompliſhment of the queen's deſigns in favour of her brother [17]. Oxford was accordingly deprived

15. *Journals*, June 24, 1714. *Hanover and Stuart Papers*, 1714.

16. *Hanover Papers*, July 20, 1714.

17. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii. The plan which the duke of Berwick had formed for the accompliſhment of theſe deſigns, and which he commiſſioned Gualtier to lay before the earl of Oxford, was, That the Pretender ſhould go privately over to the queen his ſiſter, who ſhould immediately aſſemble the two houſes of parliament, and explain her brother's inconteſtable right, and the reſolution ſhe had taken to reſtore what

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priveđ of his office. But the queen's death, which happened only four days after, and before the new adminiſtration was properly formed, left open the ſucceſſion to the elector of Hanover, and diſappointed the hopes of the Pretender and his adherents.

THE character of this princeſs, who died in the fiftieth year of her age, and the thirteenth of her reign, is neither ſtriking nor complicated. Though not altogether deſtitute of female accompliſhments, ſhe had nothing captivating, as a woman, either in her manner or perſon: ſhe could only be reputed ſenſible and agreeable. Her failure of duty as a daughter excepted, her conduct in private life appears to have been highly exemplary. She was a loving wife, a tender

what belonged to him, by all laws divine and human; that ſhe ſhould, at the ſame time, aſſure them ſhe would paſs ſuch acts as might be thought neceſſary for the ſecurity of their religion and liberty; that ſhe ſhould then introduce the Pretender in full parliament, and ſay, "Here he is, "my lords and gentlemen, ready to promiſe religiouſly to keep all I have "engaged for him, and to ſwear to the obſervance of every article; I "therefore require of you inſtantly to repeal all the acts paſſed againſt "him, and to acknowledge him as my heir and your future ſovereign, "that he may owe you ſome good will for having concurred with me, in "what your conſcience, your duty, and your honour, ſhould have "prompted you before this time to propoſe." Id. ibid.

Such an unexpected ſtep, though ſomewhat romantic at firſt ſight, the duke imagined would ſo much have aſtoniſhed the factious, and delighted the well-affected, that there would not have been the leaſt oppoſition to the queen's demands, as no perſon could have doubted but ſhe had taken effectual meaſures to ſecure obedience. But as the earl of Oxford returned no anſwer to this propoſal, the mareſchal of Berwick very juſtly concluded, That the lord high treaſurer's only motive, in all the advances he had hitherto made to the court of St. Germains, had been his own intereſt, in endeavouring to join the Jacobites with the Tories, and by ſuch means to ſecure a majority in parliament in favour of the peace; and that, as ſoon as the treaty was concluded, he thought of nothing but to be upon good terms with the Whigs and the houſe of Hanover. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* ubi ſup.

mother, a warm friend, and an indulgent miſtreſs. As a ſovereign, notwithſtanding the illuſtrious events of her reign, ſhe is entitled to little praiſe: ſhe poſſeſſed neither vigour of mind, ſplendid talents, nor a deep penetration into human affairs. A prey to the moſt enſlaving timidity, and continually governed by favourites, ſhe can hardly be ſaid to have ever thought for herſelf, or to have acted according to her own inclinations. But as her popularity concealed the weakneſs of her perſonal authority, the great abilities of her principal ſervants, to whom ſhe owed that popularity, threw a ſplendid veil over the feeble qualities of queen Anne.

DURING an interval of her illneſs, which was a kind of lethargic dozing, brought on by violent agitation of mind, on account of the critical ſtate of her affairs, ſhe delivered the treaſurer's ſtaff to the duke of Shrewſbury. That nobleman was attached to the excluded family; but his caution had hitherto made him temporiſe, and it was now too late to take any effectual ſtep in favour of the Pretender. The Whigs were highly elated at the near proſpect of an event, which they flattered themſelves would not only diſpel all their fears, in regard to the Proteſtant Succeſſion, but prove alike friendly to their power and to their principles. The Tories were depreſſed in an equal degree; and the Jacobites were utterly diſconcerted, all their projects being yet in embryo. Animated with the ardour of their party, and perhaps by a zeal for the welfare of their country, the dukes of Somerſet and Argyle boldly entered the council-chamber, without being ſummoned. Though their preſence was little acceptable, and ſo unexpected, that their appearance filled the council with conſternation, they

PART II. A.D. 1714. they were desired by the timid Shrewsbury to take their places, and thanked for their readiness to give their assistance at such a crisis. Other Whig members joined them; and a multitude of the nobility and gentry being assembled, as soon as the queen expired, orders were given, agreeable to the Act of Settlement, to proclaim GEORGE, elector of Brunswick, King of Great Britain[18]. A regency was appointed according to his nomination, his title was owned by foreign princes and states, and all things continued quiet in England until his arrival.

Sept. 17. GEORGE I. ascended the throne of Great Britain in the fifty-fourth year of his age; and the same prudence, which had hitherto distinguished him, in his negociations with the British court, was conspicuous throughout his reign. In contradistinction to the ungenerous and impolitic maxim, too frequently embraced by the princes of the house of Stuart, of trusting to the attachment of their friends, without rewarding them, and attempting, by favours, to make friends of their enemies, he made it a rule never to forget his friends, and to set his enemies at defiance. Conformable to this mode of thinking, which he perhaps carried to excess, he placed not only the administration, but all the principal employments of the kingdom, both civil and military, in the hands of the Whigs. The treasury and admiralty were put in commission; the command of the army was taken from the duke of Ormond, and restored to the duke of Marlborough; the duke of Argyle was made commander in chief of the forces in Scotland; the great-seal was given to lord Cowper, the privy-seal to the

18. *Monthly Mercury* for July 1714. Tindal's *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. vi.

earl

earl of Wharton, and the government of Ireland to the earl of Sunderland. Lord Townſhend and Mr. Stanhope were appointed ſecretaries of ſtate; the duke of Somerſet was nominated maſter of the horſe, Mr. Pultney ſecretary at war, and Mr. Walpole pay-maſter-general. A new parliament was called, in which the intereſt of the Whigs predominated; and a ſecret committee, choſen by ballot, was appointed to examine all the papers, and inquire into all the negociations relative to the late peace, as well as to the ceſſation of arms, by which it was preceded. LETTER XXIV. A.D. 1714. A.D. 1715.

THE *Committee of Secrecy* proſecuted their inquiry with the greateſt eagerneſs; and, in conſequence of their report, the commons reſolved to impeach lord Bolingbroke, the earl of Oxford, and the duke of Ormond, of high-treaſon. The grounds of theſe impeachments were, the ſhare which Oxford and Bolingbroke had in the clandeſtine negociations with France, and Ormond's acting in concert with Villars, after the fatal ſuſpenſion of arms [19]. More timid, or conſcious of ſuperior guilt, Bolingbroke and Ormond made their eſcape to the continent, while Oxford continued to attend his duty in parliament, and was committed to the Tower. His behaviour, throughout the proſecution, was firm and manly. When impeached by the commons at the bar of the houſe of lords, all the arguments of his friends being found inſufficient to acquit him, he ſpoke to the following purport. "The whole charge againſt me may be reduced to the negociating and concluding the peace of Utrecht: and that peace, bad as it is repreſented, has been approved of by two ſucceſſive parliaments. As I always acted by the immediate directions and

19. *Report of the Committee of Secrecy.*

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"commands of the queen, my miſtreſs, and never of-
"fended againſt any known law, I am juſtified in my
"conſcience, and unconcerned for the life of an in-
"ſignificant old man; but I cannot remain uncon-
"cerned, without the higheſt ingratitude, for the re-
"putation of the beſt of queens. Gratitude binds me
"to vindicate her memory.

"My lords," added he, "if miniſters of ſtate,
"acting by the immediate commands of their ſo-
"vereign, are afterward to be made accountable for
"their proceedings, it may, one day or other, be the
"caſe of every member of this auguſt aſſembly. I do
"not doubt, therefore, that, out of regard to your-
"ſelves, your lordſhips will give me an equitable hear-
"ing; and I hope that, in the proſecution of this en-
"quiry, it will appear I have *merited* not only the *indul-*
"*gence*, but the *favour* of the *preſent government* [20]." The goverment ſeems at laſt to have been made ſenſible of the truth of this aſſertion; for Oxford, when brought to his trial, after lying near two years in priſon, was diſmiſſed for want of accuſers, the commons not chuſing to appear againſt him.

To theſe proſecutions, which have been repreſented as vindictive, and the partiality of the king to the Whigs, the rebellion that diſturbed the beginning of this reign has been aſcribed; but very unjuſtly. The proſecutions were neceſſary, in order to free the nation from the imputation of having connived at a ſhameful breach of public faith: and if George I. had not thrown himſelf into the hands of the Whigs, he muſt ſoon have returned to Hanover. Of all the

20. *Parl. Hiſt.* 1715.

parties

parties in the kingdom, they only were ſincerely attached to his cauſe, or could now be ſaid firmly to adhere to the principles of the Revolution. The more moderate Tories might perhaps have been gained, but the animoſity between them and the Whigs was yet too keen to admit of a coalition. Beſide, ſuch a coalition, though it might have quieted, in appearance, ſome factious leaders, and produced a momentary calm, would have been dangerous to the eſtabliſhed government.

THE Tories in general were inclined to Jacobitiſm. The heads of the party, both in England and Scotland, held a ſecret correſpondence with the Pretender; and, although no regular concert had been formed, a tendency toward an inſurrection appeared among them, from one end of the iſland to the other, and the moſt artful means were employed to inflame the body of the people, as well as to ſecure particular adherents. The diſbanded officers were gained by money [21]; ſcandalous libels were publiſhed againſt the electoral family; the Pretender's manifeſtoes were every where diſperſed: all the Whigs were brought under the deſcription of diſſenters, and the cry of the danger of the church was revived.

DURING theſe diſcontents and cabals, which were chiefly occaſioned by the diſappointment of the Jacobites and more violent Tories, in conſequence of the premature death of queen Anne, the zeal and loyalty of the Whigs only could have ſupported king George upon the throne of Great Britain; and a ſmall body of foreign troops was only wanting, to have made the conteſt doubtful between the houſe of Stuart and that

21. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii.

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of Hanover. Such a body of troops the duke of Ormond, and other zealous Jacobites in England, eagerly ſolicited from the Pretender, as neceſſary to render their deſigns in his favour ſucceſsful.

CONVINCED of the reaſonableneſs of this demand, the duke of Berwick uſed all his influence, but in vain, to procure a few regiments from the court of Verſailles[22]. Lewis XIV. now broken by years and infirmities, and ſtanding on the verge of the grave, was unwilling to engage in a new war, or hazard any meaſure that might diſturb the minority of his great-grandſon. He therefore declined taking, openly any part in the affairs of the Pretender; and the vigilance of the earl of Stair, the Britiſh ambaſſador in France, effectually prevented any ſecret aids from operating to the diſadvantage of his maſter.

THE Pretender, however, had ſtill hopes of being able to aſcend the throne of his anceſtors, by means of his Engliſh adherents, and the aſſiſtance of the Scottiſh Jacobites, who had already provided themſelves with arms, and were ready to riſe at his command. His brother, the duke of Berwick, and the fugitive lord Bolingbroke, to whom he had delivered the ſeals, as ſecretary of ſtate, were leſs ſanguine in their expectations; yet they flattered themſelves, that ſome bold ſtep would be taken, which might encourage the court of France to interpoſe in his favour. But the miſconduct of the duke of Ormond diſappointed all theſe hopes.

THIS nobleman, after his impeachment, had retired to his houſe at Richmond, where he lived in

22. Id. ibid.

great

great ſtate, and was ſurrounded by the whole body of the Tories, of which he was ſuppoſed to be the head. He ſeemed to have ſet up the ſtandard againſt his ſovereign. And he aſſured the Pretender, he would hold his ſtation as long as poſſible; and when he could maintain it no longer, that he would retire to the North or Weſt of England, where he had many friends, among whom he had diſtributed a number of reduced officers, and in one of thoſe quarters begin an inſurrection. He had even ſettled a relay of horſes, in order to proceed with more expedition, when the dangerous moment ſhould arrive[23]. But Ormond, though perſonally brave, was deſtitute of that vigour of ſpirit, which is neceſſary for the execution of ſuch an undertaking. When informed that a party of the guards had orders to ſurround his houſe and ſeize his perſon, he loſt all preſence of mind, and haſtily made his eſcape to France; without leaving any inſtructions for his friends, who were waiting for the ſummons to take up arms, and eager to act under his command[24].

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THE unexpected flight of Ormond gave a fatal ſtab to the cauſe of the Pretender. It not only diſconcerted the plans of his Engliſh adherents, but confirmed the court of Verſailles in the reſolution of yielding him no open aſſiſtance. If a man, on whoſe credit the higheſt hopes of the Jacobites reſted, was under the neceſſity of abandoning his country, without being able to ſtrike a blow, the French miniſtry very reaſonably concluded, that the Tory party could not be ſo powerful, or ſo ripe for an inſurrection as they had been repreſented.

23. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii. 24. Id ibid.

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THE death of Lewis XIV. which happened ſoon after, farther embarraſſed the Pretender's affairs. "No prince," ſays the duke of Berwick, "was ever "ſo little known as this monarch. He has been re- "preſented, as a man not only cruel and falſe, but "difficult of acceſs. I have frequently had the hon- "our of audiences from him, and have been very fa- "miliarly admitted to his preſence; and I can af- "firm, that his *pride* was only in *appearance*. He was "born with an *air of majeſty*, which ſtruck every one "ſo much, that nobody could approach him without "being ſeized with awe and reſpect; but as ſoon as "you ſpoke to him, he ſoftened his countenance, and "put you quite at eaſe. He was the moſt polite man "in his kingdom: and his anſwers were accompanied "with ſo many obliging expreſſions, that, if he "granted your requeſt, the obligation was doubled, "by the manner of conferring it; and, if he refuſed, "you could not complain[25]." It was that air of majeſty, mentioned by the duke of Berwick, which ſo diſconcerted the old officer, who came to aſk a favour of Lewis XIV. that he could only ſay, in a faultering voice, "I hope your majeſty will believe I do "not thus tremble before your enemies!" The character of this prince I have already had occcaſion to draw, and to exhibit in various lights.

THE duke of Orleans, who was appointed, by the parliament of Paris, regent during the minority of Lewis XV. in contradiction to the will of the deceaſed monarch, affected privately to eſpouſe the intereſts of the houſe of Stuart; but the exhauſted ſtate of France, and the difficulty of maintaining his own authority againſt the other princes of the

25. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii.

blood,

blood, induced him publicly to cultivate a good understanding with the court of Great Britain, and even to take, though with ſeeming reluctance, all the ſteps pointed out by the earl of Stair, for defeating the deſigns of the Jacobites. Of thoſe the moſt important was, the ſtopping of ſome ſhips laden with arms and ammunition; an irreparable loſs to the Pretender, as he could neither procure money, nor leave to buy up a freſh quantity of ſuch articles in any other country [26].

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NOTWITHSTANDING theſe diſcouragements, the indigent repreſentative of the unfortunate family of Stuart did not relinquiſh his hopes of a crown: nor did his partizans, either in England or Scotland, abate of their ardour in his cauſe. But ardour, unleſs governed by prudence, is a wild energy, that often brings ruin on the party it was intended to ſerve. It required all the cool experience of the duke of Berwick, and the great talents of lord Bolingbroke, to moderate the zeal of the Engliſh and Scottiſh Jacobites. The Highlanders were impatient to take up arms: they had entered into a regular concert for that purpoſe: they knew their force; and, confident of ſucceſs, they entreated the Pretender to place himſelf at their head, or at leaſt to permit them to riſe in vindication of his juſt rights. Some account muſt here be given of this ſingular race of men.

THE Highlanders are the reputed deſcendants of the ancient Caledonians, or original inhabitants of North Britain, and value themſelves on having had the rare fortune of never being ſubjected to the law of any conqueror. From the victorious arms of the Romans, they took refuge in their rugged mountains, and there

26. Id ibid.

PART II. A.D. 1715. contiued to enjoy their independency, while that ambitious people remained masters of the southern parts of this island. Nor has the sword of Dane, of Saxon, or of Norman, ever reduced them to submission.

But although independent, the Highlanders were by no means free. Divided into a variety of tribes or Clans, under chiefs, who exercised an arbitrary jurisdiction over them, the body of the people were in a great measure slaves, subjected to the imperious will of their lords. And from that law of will, which it was the common interest and the pride of all the heads of Clans to support, there lay no appeal; for although the Highland chiefs acknowledged the sovereignty of the king of Scotland, and held themselves bound to assist him in his wars, they admitted not his controul in their private concerns; in their treatment of their own vassals, or in their disputes with hostile Clans. His mediation was all he could presume to offer. Nor was that often obtruded upon them; the Scottish monarchs in general being happy, if they could prevent these barbarous and predatory tribes from pillaging the more opulent and industrious inhabitants of the Low Country [27].

The remote situation of the Highlanders, and their ignorance of any language but that of their rude ancestors, commonly known by the name of Erse, farther contributed to perpetuate their barbarity and and slavery. They had no means of making known their grievances to the throne, and few of becoming

27. In palliation of these cruel inroads, it has been said, that the Highlanders having been driven from the Low Country, by invasion, have, from *time immemorial*, thought themselves "entitled to make reprisals "upon the property of their invaders!" (Dalrymple's *Mem. of Great Britain*). The same plea has been urged by the American savages, as an apology for pillaging the European settlements and with more plausibility, as the æra of *invasion* is not *immemorial*.

acquainted

acquainted with the benefits of civil government, with the arts, or accommodations of civil life.

THE ſervitude of the Highland vaſſals, however, was alleviated by certain circumſtances connected with their condition. All the people of every Clan bore the name of their hereditary chief, and were ſuppoſed to be allied to him, in different degrees, by the ties of blood. This kindred band, or admitted claim of a common relationſhip, which in ſmall Clans was a ſtrong curb upon the oppreſſive ſpirit of domination, and in all led to a freedom of intercourſe highly flattering to human pride, communicated to the vaſſal Highlanders, along with the moſt implicit ſubmiſſion to their chiefs, a ſentiment of conſcious dignity, and a ſenſe of natural equality, not to be found among the ſubjects of other petty deſpots or feudal lords. And that idea of perſonal importance, as well as the complaiſance of the Highland chiefs, was heightened by the perpetual wars between the different Clans; in which every individual had frequent opportunity of diſplaying his proweſs, and of diſcovering his attachment to his leader, in the head of his family. The ties of blood were ſtrengthened by thoſe of intereſt, of gratitude, and mutual eſteem.

THOSE wars, and the active life of the Highlanders in times of peace, when they were entirely employed in hunting or in herding their cattle, (the labours of huſbandry among them being few) habituated them to the uſe of arms, and hardened them to the endurance of toil, without greatly waſting their bodily ſtrength or deſtroying their agility. Their ancient military weapons, in conjunction with a target or buckler, were

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were a broad-ſword, for cutting or thruſting at a diſtance, and a dirk or dagger, for ſtabbing in cloſe fight. To theſe, when they became acquainted with the uſe of fire-arms, they added a muſket, which was laid aſide in battle, after the firſt diſcharge. They occaſionally carried alſo a pair of piſtols, that were fired as ſoon as the muſket was diſcharged, and thrown in the face of the enemy, as a prelude to the havock of the broad-ſword; which was inſtantly brandiſhed by every arm, gleaming like the corruſcations of lightning, in order to infuſe terror into the heart and to conquer the eye of the foe, and which fell on the head, or on the target of an antagoniſt, with the ſhock of thunder. Want of perſeverance and of union, however, has generally rendered the efforts of the Clans, as a body, abortive, notwithſtanding their proweſs in combat, and expoſed them to the diſgrace of being routed by an inferior number of regular troops.

THE dreſs of the Highlanders was well ſuited to their arms, to their moiſt mountainous country, and to their mode of life. Inſtead of breeches, they wore a a light woollen garment, called a *Kilt*, which came as low as the knee; a thick cloth jacket; a worſted plaid, ſix yards in length, and two in breadth, wrapped looſely round the body; the upper fold of which reſted on the left ſhoulder, leaving the right arm at full liberty. In battle they commonly threw away the plaid, that they might be enabled to make their movements with more celerity, and their ſtrokes with greater force. They fought not in ranks, but in knots or ſeparate bands, condenſed and firm.

SUCH were the people, who under their numerous chieftians, had formed a regular confederacy, and were

were zealous to take arms for the reſtoration of the family of Stuart to the throne of Great Britain. Strongly prepoſſeſſed in favour of the hereditary deſcent of the crown, the Highlanders could form no conception of a parliamentary right to alter the order of ſucceſſion, from political conſiderations. It contradicted all their ideas of kingſhip, and even of clanſhip. They therefore thought themſelves bound, by a ſacred and indiſpenſable obligation, to re-inſtate in his lineal inheritance the excluded prince, or to periſh in the bold attempt.

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The Pretender's ſouthern friends were no leſs liberal in their profeſſions of zeal in his cauſe. They preſſed him to land in the Weſt of England; where his perſon would be as ſafe, they affirmed, as in Scotland, and where he would find all other things more favourable to his views, although they had yet taken no deciſive meaſures for a general inſurrection; though they ſtill continued to repreſent arms and foreign troops as neceſſary to ſuch a ſtep, and were told that the Pretender was not only incapable of furniſhing them with either, but aſſured that he could not bring along with him ſo many men as would be able to protect him againſt the peace-officers [27]!

In order to compoſe the ſpirits of the Highlanders, who ſeemed to fear nothing ſo much, as that the buſineſs of reſtoring their king would be taken out of their hands, and the honour appropriated by others, they were informed, that the Pretender was deſirous to have the riſing of his friends in England and Scotland ſo adjuſted, that they might mutually aſſiſt each

27. Bolingbroke's *Letter to Sir William Wyndham.*

other;

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other; and that it was very much to be wiſhed all hoſtilities in Scotland could be ſuſpended, until the Engliſh were ready to take up arms [28]. A memorial drawn up by the duke of Berwick, had been already ſent, by lord Bolingbroke, to the Jacobites in England, repreſenting the unreaſonableneſs of deſiring the Pretender to land among them, before they were in a condition to ſupport him. They were now requeſted to conſider ſeriouſly, if they were yet in ſuch a condition; and aſſured, that as ſoon as an intimation to that purpoſe ſhould be given, and the time and place of his landing fixed, the Pretender was ready to put himſelf at their head. They named, as a landing place, the neighbourhood of Plymouth, and ſaid they hoped the weſtern counties were in a good poſture to receive the king [29]; but they offered no conjecture at the force they could bring into the field, or the dependence that might be placed in the perſons who had engaged to riſe.

THIS, as lord Bolingbroke very juſtly obſerves, was not the anſwer of men who knew what they were about. A little more preciſion was ſurely neceſſary in dictating a meſſage, that was expected to be attended with ſuch important conſequences. The duke of Ormond, however, ſet out from Paris, and the Pretender, from his temporary reſidence at Bar, on the frontiers of Lorrain, in order to join their common friends. Some agents were ſent to the Weſt, ſome to the North of England, and others to London, to give notice that both were on their way. And their routes were ſo directed, that Ormond was to ſail from the coaſt of Normandy a few days before the Pretender arrived at St. Malo, to which place the duke was

28. Id. ibid.

29. Bolingbroke, ubi ſup.

to

to ſend immediate notice of his landing, and of the proſpect of ſucceſs [30]. LETTER XXIV.

A. D. 1715.

But the Pretender's imprudence, and the vigilance of the Engliſh government, defeated the deſigns of his adherents in the Weſt, and broke, in its infancy, the force of a rebellion, which threatened to deluge the kingdom in blood. Governed by prieſts and women, he had unwiſely given, in the beginning of September, a ſecret order to the earl of Mar, already appointed his commander in chief for Scotland, to go immediately into that kingdom, and take up arms [31]. Mar, who had been ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland, during the reign of queen Anne, and who had great influence in the Highlands, did not heſitate a moment to obey. He inſtantly left London, attended by lieutenant-general Hamilton, who had long ſerved with diſtinction in Holland and Flanders; and as ſoon as he reached his own country, having aſſembled about three hundred of his friends and vaſſals, he proclaimed the Pretender, under the name of James VIII. of Scotland, and ſet up his ſtandard at Braemar, ſummoning all good ſubjects to join him, in order to reſtore their rightful ſovereign to the throne of his anceſtors, and deliver the nation from the tyranny of George, duke of Brunſwick, uſurper of the Britiſh monarchy [32]. Sept. 6.

In conſequence of this proclamation, and a declaration, by which it was followed, Mar was ſoon joined by the marquiſſes of Huntley and Tullibardine, the earls Mareſchal and Southeſk, and all the heads of the Jacobite Clans. With their aſſiſtance, he

30. Id. ibid. 31. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii. 32. Id. ibid.

was

PART II. A.D. 1715.

was able, in a few weeks, to collect an army of near ten thouſand men, well armed and accoutred. He took poſſeſſion of the town of Perth, where he eſtabliſhed his head-quarters, and made himſelf maſter of almoſt all that part of Scotland, which lies beyond the Frith of Forth.

THIS was great and rapid ſucceſs. But the duke of Argyle had already received orders to march againſt the rebels, with all the forces in North Britain; and the Pretender's affairs had ſuffered, in the mean time, an irreparable injury in another quarter. The jealouſy of government being rouſed by the unadviſed inſurrection of Mar, the lords Lanſdown and Duplin, the earl of Jerſey, Sir William Wyndham, and other Jacobite leaders, who had agreed to raiſe the Weſt of England, were taken into cuſtody, on ſuſpicion. The whole plan of a rebellion, in that part of the kingdom, was diſconcerted. The gentlemen were intimidated, the people were over-awed; ſo that Ormond, when he landed, was denied a night's lodging, in a country where he expected to head an army and re-eſtabliſh a king[34]. He returned to France with the diſcouraging news; but, as ſoon as the veſſel that carried him could be refitted, aſtoniſhing as it may ſeem, he made a ſecond attempt to land in the ſame part of the iſland. What he could propoſe, by this ſecond attempt, his beſt friends could never comprehend; and are of opinion, that a ſtorm, in which he was in danger of being caſt away, and which forced him back to the French coaſt, ſaved him from a yet greater peril—that of periſhing in an adventure, as full of extravagant raſhneſs, and as void of all rea-

33. Bolingbroke's *Letter to Sir William Wyndham.*

ſonable

ſonable meaning, as any of thoſe which have rendered the knight of La Mancha immortal [34]. LETTER XXIV. A. D. 1715.

THE Pretender's affairs wore a better appearance, for a time, in the North of England. Mr. Forſter, a gentleman of ſome influence in Northumberland, with the lords Derwentwater, Widrington, and other Jacobite leaders, there took up arms, and aſſembled a conſiderable force. But as their troops conſiſted chiefly of cavalry, they wrote to the earl of Mar to ſend them a reinforcement of infantry. This requeſt was readily complied with. Brigadier Mackintoſh was ordered to join them, with eighteen hundred Highlanders. In the mean time, having failed in an attempt upon Newcaſtle, and being informed that Mackintoſh had already croſſed the Forth, they marched northward to meet him. On their way, they were joined by a body of horſe, under the earls of Carnwath and Wintoun, the viſcount Kenmure, and other Jacobite leaders. They paſſed the Tweed at Kelſo; and having formed a junction with Mackintoſh, a council of war was called, in order to deliberate on their future proceedings.

IN this council, little unanimity could be expected, and as little was found. To march immediately toward the Weſt of Scotland, and preſs the duke of Argyle on one ſide, while the earl of Mar attacked him on the other, ſeemed the moſt rational plan; as a victory over that nobleman, which they could ſcarce have failed to obtain, would have put the Pretender at once in poſſeſſion of all North Britain. Such a propoſal was made by the earl of Wintoun, and

34. Id ibid.

agreed

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agreed to by all the Scottiſh leaders; but the Engliſh inſiſted on repaſſing the Tweed, and attacking general Carpenter, who had been ſent, with only nine hundred horſe, to ſuppreſs the rebellion in Northumberland.

FROM an uncomplying obſtinacy, mingled with national jealouſy, the rebels adopted neither of thoſe plans, nor embraced any fixed reſolution. The Engliſh inſurgents perſiſted in their refuſal to penetrate into Scotland. Part of the Highlanders, equally obſtinate, attempted in diſguſt to find their way home; and the remainder reluctantly accompanied Mackintoſh and Forſter, who entered England by the weſtern border, leaving general Carpenter on the left.

THESE leaders proceeded, by the way of Penrith, Kendal, and Lancaſter, to Preſton, where they were in hopes of increaſing their numbers, by the riſing of the catholics of Lancaſhire. But before they could receive any conſiderable acceſſion of ſtrength, or erect proper works for the defence of the town, they were informed that general Willes was ready to inveſt it, with ſix regiments of cavalry, and one battalion of infantry. They now prepared themſelves for reſiſtance, and repelled the firſt attack of the king's troops with vigour; but Willes being joined next day by a reinforcement of three regiments of dragoons, under general Carpenter, the rebels loſt all heart, and ſurrendered at diſcretion[35] Several reduced officers, found to have been in arms againſt their ſovereign, were immediately ſhot as deſerters; the noblemen and gentlemen were ſent priſoners to London, and

35. Willes's *Deſpatches*. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii.

com-

committed to the Tower; while the common men were confined in the caſtle of Cheſter, and other ſecure places in the country. LETTER XXIV. A.D. 1715

THE ſame day that the rebellion in England was extinguiſhed, by the ſurrender of Forſter and his aſſociates at Preſton, the rebels in Scotland received a ſevere ſhock from the royal army. The earl of Mar, after having waſted his time in forming his army, with unneceſſary parade, at Perth[37], took a reſolution to march into England, and join his ſouthern friends. With this view he marched to Auchterarder, where he reviewed his forces, and halted a day, before he attempted to croſs the Forth. The duke of Argyle, who lay on the ſouthern ſide of that river, inſtead of waiting to diſpute the paſſage of the rebels, marched over the bridge of Sterling, as ſoon as he was informed of their deſign, and encamped within a few miles of the earl of Mar, with his left to the village of Dumblaine, and his right toward Sheriff-Muir. His army conſiſted only of two thouſand three hundred infantry, and twelve hundred cavalry; that of the rebels, of about nine thouſand men, chiefly infantry. They came in ſight of each other in the evening, and lay all night on their arms.

AT day-break Argyle, perceiving the rebels in motion, drew up his troops in order of battle. But, on the nearer approach of the enemy, perceiving himſelf outflanked, and in danger of being ſurrounded, he was under the neceſſity of altering his diſpoſition, by ſeizing on certain heights to the north-eaſt of Dumblaine. In conſequence of this movement, which

37. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii.

PART II. A. D. 1715.

was not made without ſome degree of confuſion, the left wing of the royal army fell in with the centre of the rebels, compoſed of the Clans, headed by Glengary, Sir Donald, Macdonald's brothers, the captain of Clanronald, Sir John Maclean, Glenco, Campbel of Glenly or Gordon of Glen-bucket, and other chieftains. The combat was fierce and bloody, and the Highlanders ſeemed at one time diſcouraged, by the loſs of one of their leaders; when Glengary, waving his bonnet, and crying aloud, "Revenge! revenge!" they ruſhed up to the muzzle of the muſkets of the king's troops, puſhed aſide the bayonets with their targets, and made great havoc with their broad-ſwords. The whole left wing of the royal army was inſtantly broken and routed; general Witham, who commanded it, flying to Stirling, and declaring that all was loſt.

MEANWHILE the duke of Argyle, who conducted in perſon the right wing of the royal army, conſiſting chiefly of horſe, had defeated the left of the rebels, and purſued them with great ſlaughter, as far as the river Allen, in which many of them were drowned. This purſuit however, though hot, was by no means rapid. The rebels, notwithſtanding their habitual dread of cavalry, the ſhock of which their manner of fighting rendered them little able to reſiſt, frequently made a ſtand, and endeavoured to renew the combat. And if Mar, who remained with the victorious part of his army, had poſſeſſed any tolerable ſhare of military talents, Argyle would never have dared to reviſit the field of battle. He might even have been overpowered by numbers, and cut off by one body of the rebels, when fatigued with combating the other. But no ſuch attempt being made, nor the advantage on the left properly improved, the duke returned triumphant

triumphant to the ſcene of action; and Mar, who had taken poſt on the top of a hill, with about five thouſand of the flower of his army, not only forebore to moleſt the king's troops, but retired during the following night, and made the beſt of his way to Perth [38]. Next morning the duke of Argyle, who had been joined by the remains of his left wing, perceiving that the rebels had ſaved him the trouble of diſlodging them, drew off his army toward Stirling, carrying along with him the enemy's artillery, bread-waggons, and many priſoners of diſtinction [39]. The number killed was very conſiderable, amounting to near a thouſand men on each ſide.

THIS battle, though by no means deciſive, proved fatal, in its conſequences, to the affairs of the Pretender in Scotland. Lord Lovat, the chief of the Fraſers, who ſeemed diſpoſed to join the rebels, now declared for the eſtabliſhed government, and ſeized upon the important poſt of Inverneſs, from which he drove Sir John Mackenzie; while the earl of Sutherland, who had hitherto been over-awed, appeared openly in the ſame cauſe. Againſt theſe two noblemen, Mar detached the marquis of Huntley and the earl of Seaforth, with their numerous vaſſals. But the rebel chiefs, inſtead of coming to immediate action, ſuffered themſelves to be amuſed with negociations; and both, after ſome heſitation, returned to their allegiance under king George. The marquis of Tullibardine alſo withdrew from the rebel army,

38. *Lond. Gazette*, Nov. 21, 1715. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii. *Account of the Battle of Dumblaine*, printed at Edinburgh in 1715, and Tindal's *Contin.* of Rapin, vol. vii.

39. Ibid.

PART II. A. D. 1715. in order to defend his own country againſt the friends of government; and the Clans, diſguſted at their failure of ſucceſs, diſperſed on the approach of winter, with their uſual want of perſeverance.

THE Pretender, who had hitherto reſiſted every ſolicitation to come over, took the unaccountable reſolution, in this deſperate ſtate of his affairs, of landing in the North of Scotland. He accordingly ſet ſail from Dunkirk in a ſmall veſſel, and arrived at Peterhead, attended only by ſix gentlemen. He was met at Fetteroſſe by the earls of Mar and Mareſchal, and conducted to Perth. There a regular council was formed, and a day fixed for his coronation at Scone. But he was diverted from all thoughts of that vain ceremony by the approach of the duke of Argyle; who having been reinforced, with ſix thouſand Dutch auxiliaries, advanced toward Perth, notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon.

Dec. 22.

As that town was utterly deſtitute of fortifications, excepting a ſimple wall, and otherwiſe unprovided for a ſiege, the king's troops took poſſeſſion of it, without reſiſtance. Mar and the Pretender had retired to Montroſe; and, ſeeing no proſpect of better fortune, they embarked for France, accompanied with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction[40]. General Gordon and earl Mareſchal proceeded northward with the main body of the rebels, by a march ſo rapid as to elude purſuit. All who thought they could not hope for pardon, embarked at Aberdeen for the continent. The common people were conducted to the hills of Badenoch, and there quietly diſmiſſed. The whole country ſubmitted to Argyle.

A. D. 1716.

40. Duke of Berwick's *Mem.* vol. ii. Tindal's *Contin.* ubi ſup.

SUCH,

LETTER XXV.

Such, my dear Philip, was the iſſue of a rebellion, which had its origin, as we have ſeen, in the intrigues in favour of the Pretender, during the latter years of the reign of queen Anne, not in the meaſures of the new government, as repreſented by the Jacobite writers. Its declared object was the reſtoration of the family of Stuart to the throne of Great Britain; and that many intelligent men have ſuppoſed, would have been attended with fewer inconveniencies than the acceſſion of the houſe of Hanover. But they who reflect, that the Pretender was a bigotted papiſt, and not only obſtinately refuſed to change his religion, though ſenſible it incapacitated him from legally ſucceeding to the crown, but ſtudiouſly avoided, in his very manifeſtoes, giving any open and unequivocal aſſurance, that he would maintain the civil and religious liberties of the nation, *as by law eſtabliſhed*[41], will find reaſon to be of another opinion. They will conſider the ſuppreſſion of this rebellion, which defeated the deſigns of the Jacobites, and in a manner extinguiſhed the hopes of the Pretender, as an event of the utmoſt importance to the happineſs of Great Britain.—The earl of Derwentwater, lord Kenmure, and a few other rebel priſoners were publicly executed; A. D. 1716.

41. See Bolingbroke's *Letter to Sir William Wyndham*, in which many curious proofs of the Pretender's duplicity and bigotry are given. When the draught of a declaration, and other papers, to be diſperſed in Great Britain, were preſented to him by his ſecretary, "he took exception "againſt ſeveral paſſages, and particularly againſt thoſe, wherein a "*direct promiſe* of ſecuring the churches of England and Ireland was "made. He was told, he ſaid, that he could not in conſcience make "ſuch a promiſe." The draughts were accordingly altered by his prieſts; "and the moſt material paſſages were turned with all the "jeſuitical prevarication imaginable." (Ibid.) In conſequence of theſe alterations, Bolingbroke refuſed to counterſign the declaration.

PART II. A.D. 1716.

out no blood was wantonly ſpilt. Theſe executions were dictated by prudence, not by vengeance.

We muſt now turn our eyes toward another quarter of Europe, and take a view of the king of Sweden and his antagoniſt, Peter the Great. The king of Sweden particularly claims our attention at this period; as, among his other extravagant projects, he had formed a deſign of reſtoring the Pretender.

LETTER XXV.

RUSSIA, TURKEY, *and the Northern Kingdoms, from the Defeat of* CHARLES XII. *at* PULTOWA, *in* 1709, *to the Death of* PETER *the* GREAT, *in* 1725.

LETTER XXV. A.D. 1709.

THE defeat of the king of Sweden at Pultowa, as I have already had occaſion to notice, was followed by the moſt important conſequences. Charles XII. who had ſo long been the terror of Europe, was obliged to take ſhelter in the Turkiſh dominions, where he continued a fugitive, while his former rival, the Ruſſian monarch, victorious on every ſide, reſtored Auguſtus to the throne of Poland; depoſed Staniſlaus, expelled the Swedes, and made himſelf maſter of Livonia, Ingria, and Carelia[1].

THE circumſtances attending theſe conqueſts are too little intereſting to merit a particular detail. I ſhall therefore paſs them over, and proceed to the in-

1. Voltaire, *Hiſt. of Ruſſia*, chap. xix.

trigues

trigues of Charles and Poniatowſky at the Ottoman court, which gave birth to more ſtriking events. I cannot help, however, here obſerving, That the king of Denmark having declared war againſt Sweden, ſoon after the defeat of the Swediſh monarch at Pultowa, in hopes of profiting by the misfortunes of that prince, and invaded Scania or Schonen, his army was defeated with great ſlaughter, near Elſinburg, by the Swediſh militia, and a few regiments of veterans, under general Steenbock. LETTER XXV. A.D. 1710. March 10.

CHARLES XII. was ſo much delighted with the news of this victory, and enraged at the enemies that had riſen up againſt him in his abſence, that he could not forbear exclaiming on the occaſion, "My brave "Swedes! ſhould it pleaſe God that I once more "join you, we will beat them all!" He had then, indeed, a near proſpect of being able to return to his capital as a conqueror, and to take ſevere vengeance on his numerous enemies.

IT is a maxim of the Turkiſh government, to conſider as ſacred the perſon of ſuch unfortunate princes as take refuge in the dominions of the Grand Seignior, and to ſupply them liberally with the conveniencies of life, according to their rank, while within the limits of the Ottoman empire. Agreeable to this generous maxim, the king of Sweden was honourably conducted to Bender; and ſaluted on his arrival, with a general diſcharge of the artillery. As he did not chuſe to lodge within the town, the ſeraſkier, or governor of the province, cauſed a magnificent tent to be erected for him on the banks of the Neiſter. Tents were alſo erected for his principal attendants; and theſe tents were afterward transformed

PART II. A.D. 1710.

into houſes: ſo that the camp of the unfortunate monarch became inſenſibly a conſiderable village. Great numbers of ſtrangers reſorted to Bender to ſee him. The Turks and neighbouring Greeks came thither in crowds. All reſpected and admired him. His inflexible reſolution to abſtain from wine, and his regularity in aſſiſting publicly twice a-day at divine ſervice, made the Mahometans ſay he was a true Muſſulman, and inſpired them with an ardent deſire of marching under him to the conqueſt of Ruſſia[2].

THAT idea ſtill occupied the mind of Charles. Though a fugitive among Infidels, and utterly deſtitute of reſources, he was not without hopes of yet being able to dethrone the Czar. With this view, his envoy at the court of Conſtantinople delivered memorials to the Grand Vizier; and his friend Poniatowſky, who was always dreſſed in the Turkiſh habit, and had free acceſs every where, ſupported theſe ſolicitations by his intrigues. Achmet III. the reigning Sultan, preſented Poniatowſky with a purſe of a thouſand ducats, and the Grand Vizier ſaid to him, "I will take your king in one hand, and a ſword in "the other, and conduct him to Moſcow at the head "of two hundred thouſand men[3]." But the Czar's money ſoon changed the ſentiments of the Turkiſh miniſter. The military cheſt, which Peter had taken at Pultowa, furniſhed him with new arms to wound the vanquiſhed Charles, whoſe blood-earned treaſures were turned againſt himſelf. All thoughts of a war with Ruſſia were laid aſide at the Porte.

THE king of Sweden, however, though thus diſcomfitted in his negociations, by means of the Czar's

2. *Hiſt. Charles XII.* liv. v. 3. Id. ibid.

gold,

gold, as he had been in the field by the army of that prince, was not in the leaſt dejected. Convinced that the Sultan was ignorant of the intrigues of the Grand Vizier, he reſolved to acquaint him with the corruption of his miniſter. And Poniatowſky undertook the execution of this hazardous buſineſs. A. D. 1710.

THE Grand Seignior goes every Friday to the moſque, or Mahometan temple, ſurrounded by his Solaks; a kind of guards, whoſe turbans are adorned with ſuch high feathers as to conceal the Sultan from the view of the people. When any one has a petition to preſent, he endeavours to mingle with the guards, and holds the paper aloft. Sometimes the Sultan condeſcends to receive the petition himſelf; but he more commonly orders an Aga to take charge of it, and cauſes it to be laid before him on his return from the moſque. Poniatowſky had no other method of conveying the king of Sweden's complaint to Achmet.

SOME days after receiving the petition, which had been tranſlated into the Turkiſh language, the Sultan ſent a polite letter to Charles, accompanied with a preſent of twenty-five Arabian horſes; one of which, having carried his Sublime Highneſs, was covered with a ſaddle ornamented with precious ſtones, and furniſhed with ſtirrups of maſſy gold. But he declined taking any ſtep to the diſadvantage of his miniſter, whoſe conduct he ſeemed to approve. The ruin of the Grand Vizier, however, was at hand. Through the intrigues of Poniatowſky, he was baniſhed to Caffa in Crim Tartary; and the bull, or ſeal of the empire, was given to Numan Kupruli, grandſon to the great Kupruli, who took Candia from the Venetians.

THIS

PART II. A. D. 1710.

THIS new minister, who was a man of incorruptible integrity, could not bear the thoughts of a war against Russia, which he considered as alike unnecessary and unjust. But the same attachment to justice, which made him averse from making war upon the Russians, contrary to the faith of treaties, induced him to observe the rights of hospitality toward the king of Sweden, and even to enlarge the generosity of the Sultan to that unfortunate prince. He sent Charles eight hundred purses, every purse containing five hundred crowns, and advised him to return peaceably to his own dominions; either through the territories of the emperor of Germany, or in some of the French vessels which then lay in the harbour of Constantinople, and on board of which the French ambassador offered to convey him to Marseilles.

BUT the haughty and inflexible Swede, who still believed he should be able to engage the Turks in his project of dethroning the Czar, obstinately rejected this, and every other proposal, for his quiet return to his own dominions. He was constantly employed in magnifying the power of his former rival, whom he had long affected to despise; and his emissaries took care, at the same time, to insinuate that Peter was ambitious to make himself master of the Black Sea, to subdue the Cossacks, and to carry his arms into Crim Tartary[4]. But the force of these insinuations, which sometimes alarmed the Porte, was generally broken by the more powerful arguments of the Russian ministers.

4. Voltaire, ubi sup. These particulars this lively author had partly from Poniatowsky himself, and partly from M. de Feriol, the French ambassador at the Porte.

WHILE

LETTER XXV.

A.D. 1711

WHILE the obſtinacy of the king of Sweden, in refuſing to return to his own dominions, in any other character than that of a conqueror, made his fate thus depend upon the caprice of viziers; while he was alternately receiving favours and affronts from the great enemy of Chriſtianity, himſelf a devout Chriſtian; preſenting petitions to the Grand Turk, and ſubſiſting upon his bounty in a deſert, the Ruſſian monarch was exhibiting to his people a ſpectacle not unworthy of the ancient Romans, when Rome was in her glory. In order to inſpire his ſubjects with a taſte for magnificence, and to impreſs them with an awful reſpect for his power, he made his public entry into Moſcow (after reinſtating Auguſtus in the throne of Poland) under ſeven triumphal arches, erected in the ſtreets, and adorned with every thing that the climate could produce, or a thriving commerce furniſh. Firſt in proceſſion marched a regiment of guards, followed by the artillery taken from the Swedes; each piece of which was drawn by eight horſes, covered with ſcarlet houſings, hanging down to the ground. Next came the kettle-drums, colours, and ſtandards, won from the ſame enemy, carried by the officers and ſoldiers who had captured them. Theſe trophies were followed by the fineſt troops of the Czar; and, after they had filed off, the litter in which Charles XII. was carried at the battle of Pultowa, all-ſhattered with cannon ſhot, appeared in a chariot made on purpoſe to diſplay it. Behind the litter marched all the Swediſh priſoners, two and two; among whom was count Piper the king of Sweden's prime miniſter, the famous mareſchal Renſchild, the count de Lewenhaupt, the generals Slipenbach, Stackelberg, and Hamilton, with many inferior officers, who were afterward diſperſed through Great Ruſſia.

PART II. A D. 1710.

Ruſſia. Laſt in proceſſion came the triumphant conqueror, mounted on the ſame horſe which he rode at the battle of Pultowa, and followed by the generals who had a ſhare in the victory; the whole being cloſed with a vaſt number of waggons, loaded with the Swediſh military ſtores, and preceded by a regiment of Ruſſian guards[5].

THIS magnificent ſpectacle, which augmented the veneration of the Muſcovites for the perſon of Peter, and perhaps made him appear greater in their eyes, than all his military atchievements and civil inſtitutions, furniſhed Charles with new arguments for awakening the jealouſy of the Porte. The Grand Vizier Kupruli, who had zealouſly oppoſed all the deſigns of the king of Sweden, was diſmiſſed from his office, after having filled it only two months, and the ſeal of the empire was given to Baltagi Mahomet, baſha of Syria. Baltagi, on his arrival at Conſtantinople, found the intereſt of the Swediſh monarch prevailing in the ſeraglio. The Sultana Walide, mother of the reigning emperor; Ali Kumurgi, his favourite; the Kiſlar Aga, chief of the Black Eunuchs; and the Aga of the Janizaries, were all for a war againſt Ruſſia. Achmet himſelf was fixed in the ſame reſolution. And he gave orders to the Grand Vizier to attack the dominions of the Czar with two hundred thouſand men. Baltagi was no warrior, but he prepared to obey[6].

THE firſt violent ſtep of the Ottoman court was the arreſting of the Ruſſian ambaſſador, and committing him to the caſtle of the Seven Towers. It is the

Nov. 29.

5. Voltaire's *Hiſt. of Ruſſia*, chap. xix. *Hiſt. Charles XII.* liv. v.
6. Id ibid.

cuſtom

cuſtom of the Turks to begin hoſtilities with impriſoning the miniſters of thoſe princes againſt whom they intend to declare war, inſtead of ordering them to leave the dominions of the Porte. This barbarous cuſtom, at which even ſavages would bluſh, they pretend to vindicate, on a ſuppoſition that they never undertake any but juſt wars; and that they have a right to puniſh the ambaſſadors of the princes with whom they are at enmity, as accomplices in the treachery of their maſters.

BUT the true origin of ſo deteſtable a practice ſeems to be, the ancient and hereditary hatred and contempt of the Turks for the Chriſtian powers, which they take every occaſion to ſhew[7]; and the meanneſs of the latter, who from motives of intereſt, and jealouſy of each other, continually ſupport a number of ambaſſadors, conſidered as little better than ſpies, at the court of Conſtantinople, while the Grand Seignior is too proud to ſend an ambaſſador to any court in Chriſtendom. It is a diſreſpect to the Chriſtian name, and the office of reſident, that betrays the honeſt Muſſulman into this flagrant breach of the law of nations; a law which his prejudices induce him to think ought only to be obſerved toward the faithful, or thoſe eaſtern nations, who, though not Mahometans, equal the Turks in ſtatelineſs of manners, and decline ſending any ambaſſadors among

7. The inſults to which Chriſtian traders in Turkey are expoſed, even at this day, are too horrid to be mentioned, and ſuch as the inordinate love of gold only could induce any man of ſpirit to ſubmit, however ſmall his veneration for the religion of the croſs. Conſuls and ambaſſadors, though veſted with a public character, and more immediately intitled to protection, are not altogether exempted from ſuch inſults.

them,

PART II. A. D. 1710.

them, except on extraordinary occaſions. In conſequence of theſe prejudices, or whatever may have given riſe to the practice, the Ruſſian ambaſſador was impriſoned, as a prelude to a declaration of war againſt his maſter.

THE Czar was not of a complexion tamely to ſuffer ſuch an injury: and his power ſeemed to render ſubmiſſion unneceſſary. As ſoon as informed of the haughty inſult, he ordered his forces in Poland to march toward Moldavia; withdrew his troops from Livonia, and made every preparation for war, and for opening with vigour the campaign on the frontiers of Turkey. Nor were the Turks negligent in taking meaſures for oppoſing, and even humbling him. The Kan of Crim Tartary was ordered to hold himſelf in readineſs with forty thouſand men, and the troops of the Porte were collected from all quarters.

GAINED over, by preſents and promiſes, to the intereſts of the king of Sweden, the Kan at firſt obtained leave to appoint the general rendezvous of the Turkiſh forces near Bender, and even under the eye of Charles, in order more effectually to convince him, that the war was undertaken ſolely on his account. But Baltagi Mahomet, the Grand Vizier, who lay under no ſuch obligations, did not chuſe to flatter a foreign prince ſo highly at the expence of truth. He was ſenſible, that the jealouſy of the Sultan at the neighbourhood of ſo powerful a prince as Peter; at his fortifying Azoph; and at the number of his ſhips on the Black Sea and the Palus Mæotis, were the real cauſes of the war againſt Ruſſia. He therefore changed the place of rendezvous. The army of the

Porte

Porte was ordered to aſſemble in the extenſive and fertile plains of Adrianople, where the Turks uſually muſter their forces when they are going to make war upon the Chriſtians. There the troops that arrive from Aſia and Africa, are commonly allowed to repoſe themſelves for a few weeks, and to recruit their ſtrength before they enter upon action. But Baltagi, in order to anticipate the preparations of the Czar, began his march toward the Danube, within three days after reviewing his forces. LETTER XXV. A. D. 1710.

PETER had already taken the field at the head of a formidable army, which he muſtered on the frontiers of Poland, and planned his route through Moldavia and Walachia; the country of the ancient Daci, but now inhabited by Greek Chriſtians, who are tributary to the Grand Seignior. Moldavia was at that time governed by Demetrius Cantemir; a prince of Grecian extraction, and who united in his character the accompliſhments of the ancient Greeks, the uſe of arms and the knowledge of letters. This prince fondly imagined that the conqueror of Charles XII. would eaſily triumph over the Grand Vizier, Baltagi, who had never made a campaign, and who had choſen for his Kiaia, or lieutenant-general, the ſuperintendant of the cuſtoms at Conſtantinople. He accordingly reſolved to join the Czar, and made no doubt but all his ſubjects would readily follow his example, as the Greek patriarch encouraged him in his revolt. Having concluded a ſecret treaty with prince Cantamir, and received him into his army, Peter thus encouraged, advanced farther into the country. He paſſed the Nieſter, and reached at length the northern banks of the Pruth, near Jaſſi the capital of Moldavia[8].

8. Voltaire's *Hiſt. Ruſſian Emp.* part ii. chap. i. *Hiſt. Charles XII.* liv. v.

BUT

PART II. A. D. 1710

BUT the Ruſſian monarch, by confiding in the promiſes of the Moldavian prince, ſoon found himſelf in as perilous a ſituation, on the banks of the Pruth, as that of his rival, the king of Sweden at Pultowa, in conſequence of relying on the friendſhip of Mazeppa. The Moldavians, happy under the Turkiſh government, which is ſeldom fatal to any but the graſpers, and affects great lenity toward its tributary provinces, refuſed to follow the ſtandard of Cantamir, or to ſupply the Ruſſians with proviſions. Meanwhile the Grand Vizier, having paſſed the Pruth, advanced againſt the Czar with an army of two hundred and fifty thouſand men, and in a manner encompaſſed the enemy. He formed an entrenched camp before them, the river Pruth running behind; and forty thouſand Tartars were continually harraſſing them, on the right and left.

As ſoon as Poniatowſky, who was in the Ottoman camp, ſaw an engagement was become inevitable, he ſent an expreſs to the king of Sweden; who, although he had refuſed to join the Turkiſh army, becauſe he was not permitted to command it, immediately left Bender, anticipating the pleaſure of beholding the ruin of the Czar. In order to avoid that ruin, Peter decamped under favour of the night; but his deſign being diſcovered, the Turks attacked his rear by break of day, and threw his army into ſome confuſion. The Ruſſians, however, having rallied behind their baggage-waggons, made ſo ſtrong and regular a fire upon the enemy, that it was judged impracticable to diſlodge them, after two terrible attacks, in which the Turks loſt a great number of men. In order to avoid the hazard of a third attempt, the Grand Vizier determined to reduce the Czar

Czar and his exhausted army by famine. This was the most prudent measure he could have adopted. The Russians were not only destitute of forage and provisions, but even of the means of quenching their thirst. Notwithstanding their vicinity to the river Pruth, they were in great want of water; a body of Turks, on the opposite bank, guarding, by a continual discharge of artillery, that precious necessary of life.

LETTER XXV. A. D. 1711.

In this desperate extremity, when the loss of his army seemed the least evil that could befal him, the Czar, on the approach of night, retired to his tent, in violent agitation of mind; giving positive orders that no person whatsoever should be admitted to disturb his privacy—to behold his exquisite distress, or shake a great resolution he had taken of attempting, next morning, to force his way through the enemy with fixed bayonets. The Czarina, Catherine, a Livonian captive of low condition whom he had raised to the throne, and who accompanied him in this expedition, boldly exposing her person to every danger, thought proper to break through those orders. She ventured, for once, to disobey; but not from a womanish weakness. Catherine's mind alone rode out that storm of despair, in which the prospect of unavoidable death or slavery had sunk the whole camp. Entering the melancholy abode of her husband, and throwing herself at his feet, she entreated the Czar to permit her to offer, in his name, proposals of peace, to the Grand Vizier. Peter, after some hesitation, consented. He signed a letter which she presented to him; and the Czarina having made choice of an officer, on whose fidelity and talents she could depend, accompanied her suit with a present, according to the custom of the East.

PART II. A. D. 1711.

"LET the Czar ſend to me his prime miniſter!" ſaid Baltagi, with the haughty air of a conqueror; "and I ſhall then conſider what is to be done." The vice-chancellor, Shaffiroff, immediately repaired to the Turkiſh camp, and a negociation took place. The Grand Vizier at firſt demanded, that Peter, with his whole army, ſhould ſurrender priſoners of war. The vice-chancellor replied, That the Ruſſians would periſh to a man, ſooner than ſubmit to ſuch diſhonourable conditions; that his maſter's reſolution was already taken: he was determined to open a paſſage with the point of the bayonet. Baltagi, though little ſkilled in military affairs, was ſenſible of the danger of driving to deſpair a body of thirty-five thouſand brave and diſciplined troops, headed by a gallant prince. He granted a ſuſpenſion of arms for ſix hours. And before the expiration of that term, it was agreed by the Ruſſian miniſter, That the Czar ſhould reſtore the city of Azoph, deſtroy the harbour of Tangarok, and demoliſh the forts built on the Palus Mæotis or ſea of Zebach; withdraw his troops from Poland, give no farther diſturbance to the Coſſacks, and permit the Swediſh monarch to return into his own kingdom[9].

July 21.

ON theſe conditions, Peter was allowed to retire with his army. The Turks ſupplied him with proviſions; ſo that he had plenty of every thing in his camp, only two hours after ſigning the treaty. He did not, however, a moment delay his retreat, aware of the danger of intervening accidents. And juſt as he was marching off, with drums beating and colours flying, the king of Sweden arrived impatient for the

9. Id ibid.

fight,

fight, and happy in the thought of having his enemy in his power. Poniatowſky met him with a dejected countenance, and informed him of the peace. Inflamed with reſentment, Charles flew to the tent of the Grand Vizier, and keenly reproached him with the treaty he had concluded. "I have a right," ſaid Baltagi, with a calm aſpect, "to make either "peace or war. And our law commands us to grant "peace to our enemies, when they implore our "clemency."—"And does it command you," ſubjoined Charles, in a haughty tone, "to ſtay the ope-"rations of war, by an unmeaning treaty, when you "might impoſe the law of the conqueror? Did not "fortune afford you an opportunity of leading the "Czar in chains to Conſtantinople!" The Grand Vizier, thus preſſed, replied with an imperious frown, "And who would have governed his empire in his "abſence? It is not proper that all crowned heads "ſhould leave their dominions!" Charles made anſwer only by a ſarcaſtic ſmile. Swelling with indignation, he threw himſelf upon a ſopha, and darting on all around him, a look of diſdain, he ſtretched out his leg, and entangling his ſpur in Baltagi's robe, purpoſely tore it. The Grand Vizier took no notice of this ſplenetic inſult, which he ſeemed to conſider as an accident; and the king of Sweden, farther mortified by that magnanimous neglect, ſprung up, mounted his horſe, and returned with a ſorrowful heart to Bender [10].

LETTER XXV. A.D. 1714.

BALTAGI MAHOMET, however, was ſoon made ſenſible of his error, in not paying more regard to the claims of Charles XII. For although the Grand Seig-

10. *Hiſt. Charles XII.* liv. v. Voltaire had all theſe particulars from Poniatowſky, who was preſent at this interview.

PART II. A. D. 1711.

nior was so well pleased with the treaty concluded with the Czar, when the news first reached Constantinople, that he ordered public rejoicings to be held for a whole week, Poniatowsky and the other agents of Charles soon found means to persuade him, that his interests had been betrayed. The Grand Vizier was disgraced. But the minister who succeeded Baltagi in that high office was yet less disposed to favour the views of the king of Sweden. His liberal allowance of five hundred crowns a day, beside a profusion of every thing necessary for his table, was withdrawn, in consequence of his intrigues. All his attempts to kindle a new war between the Turks and Russians proved ineffectual; and the Divan, wearied out with his perpetual importunities, came to a resolution to send him back, not with a numerous army, as a king whose cause the Sultan meant to abet, but as a troublesome fugitive whom he wanted to dismiss, attended by a sufficient guard.

A. D. 1712. April 19.

To that purport Achmet III. sent Charles a letter; in which, after styling him the *most powerful among the kings who worship Jesus, brilliant in majesty, and a lover of honour and glory*, he very positively requires his departure. "Though we had proposed," says the Sultan, "to march our victorious army once more against the "Czar, we have found reason to change our resolu- "tion. In order to avoid the just resentment which "we had expressed at his delaying to execute the "treaty concluded on the banks of the Pruth, and "afterward renewed at our sublime Porte, that prince "has surrendered into our hands the castle and city "of Azoph; and endeavoured, through the media- "tion of the ambassadors of England and Holland, "our ancient allies, to cultivate a lasting peace with

" us. We have therefore granted his requeſt, and de- LETTER XXV.
" livered to his plenipotentiaries, who remain with us
" as hoſtages, our imperial ratification, having firſt A.D. 1712.
" received his from their hands. You muſt, therefore,
" prepare to ſet out, under the protection of Provi-
" dence, and with an honourable guard, on purpoſe to
" return to your own dominions, taking care to paſs
" through thoſe of Poland in a peaceable manner [11].

ALTHOUGH this letter is ſufficiently explicit, it did not extinguiſh the hopes of the king of Sweden. He ſtill flattered himſelf, that he ſhould be able to involve the Porte in a new war with Ruſſia: and he had almoſt accompliſhed his aim. He diſcovered that the Czar had not yet withdrawn his troops from Poland. He made the ſultan acquainted with that circumſtance. The grand vizier was diſgraced, for neglecting to enforce the execution of ſo material an article in the late treaty; and the Ruſſian ambaſſador was again committed to the caſtle of the Seven Towers. This ſtorm, however, was ſoon diſſipated. The Czar's plenipotentiaries, who had not yet left the Porte, engaged that their maſter ſhould withdraw his troops from Poland. The treaty of peace was renewed; and the king of Sweden was given to underſtand, that he muſt immediately prepare for his departure.

WHEN the order of the Porte was communicated to Charles, by the baſhaw of Bender, he replied, that he could not ſet out on his journey until he had received money to pay his debts. The baſhaw aſked, how much would be neceſſary. The king, at a venture, ſaid a thouſand purſes. The baſhaw acquainted

11. Voltaire, *Hiſt. Ch. XII.* liv. vi.

PART II. A. D. 1712.

the Porte with this requeſt; and the ſultan, inſtead of a thouſand, granted twelve hundred purſes. "Our "imperial munificence," ſays he, in a letter to the baſhaw, "hath granted a thouſand purſes to the king "of Sweden, which ſhall be ſent to Bender, under "the care and conduct of the moſt illuſtrious Mehe- "met Baſhaw, to *remain* in your *cuſtody* until the *de-* "*parture* of the Swediſh monarch; and then be given "him, together with two hundred purſes more, as a "mark of our imperial liberality, above what he de- "mands."

NOTWITHSTANDING the ſtrictneſs of theſe orders, Grothuſen, the king of Sweden's ſecretary, found means to get the money from the baſhaw before the departure of his maſter, under pretence of making the neceſſary preparations for his journey; and a few days after, in order to procure farther delay, Charles demanded another thouſand purſes. Confounded at this requeſt, the baſhaw ſtood for a moment ſpeechleſs, and was obſerved to drop a tear. "I ſhall loſe my head," ſaid he, "for having ob- "liged your majeſty!" and took his leave with a ſorrowful countenance. He wrote, however, to the Porte in his own vindication; proteſting that he did not deliver the twelve hundred purſes, but upon a ſolemn promiſe from the king of Sweden's miniſter, that his maſter would inſtantly depart.

THE baſhaw's excuſe was ſuſtained. The diſpleaſure of Achmet fell wholly upon Charles. Having convoked an extraordinary Divan, he ſpoke to the following purport, his eyes flaſhing with indignation: "I hardly ever knew the king of Sweden, except by "his defeat at Pultowa, and the requeſt he made to "me for an aſylum in my dominions. I have not, I "believe

"believe, any need of his aſſiſtance, or any cauſe to love or to fear him. Nevertheleſs, without being influenced by any other motive than the hoſpitality of a Muſſulman, directed by my natural generoſity, which ſheds the dew of beneficence upon the great as well as the ſmall, upon ſtrangers as well as my own ſubjects, I have received, protected, and maintained himſelf, his miniſters, officers, and ſoldiers, according to the dignity of a king; and for the ſpace of three years and an half, have never with-held my hand from loading him with favours. I have granted him a conſiderable guard to conduct him back to his own kingdom. He aſked a thouſand purſes to pay ſome debts, though I defray all his expences: inſtead of a thouſand, I granted him twelve hundred purſes; and having received theſe, he yet refuſes to depart, until he ſhall obtain a thouſand more, and a ſtronger guard, although that already appointed is fully ſufficient. I therefore aſk you, whether it will be a breach of the laws of hoſpitality to ſend away this prince? and whether foreign powers can reaſonably tax me with cruelty and injuſtice, if I ſhould be under the neceſſity of uſing force to compel him to depart [12]?" LETTER XXV. A. D. 1712.

ALL the members of the Divan anſwered, That ſuch a conduct would be conſiſtent with the ſtricteſt rules of juſtice. An order to that effect was accordingly ſent to the baſhaw of Bender, who immediately waited upon the king of Sweden, and made him acquainted with it. "Obey your maſter, if you dare!" ſaid Charles, "and leave my preſence inſtantly." The baſhaw did not need this inſult to animate him to his duty. He coolly prepared to execute the commands A. D. 1713.

12. Id. ibid.

PART II. A. D. 1713.

of his ſovereign; and Charles, in ſpite of the earneſt entreaties of his friends and ſervants, reſolved, with three hundred Swedes, to oppoſe an army of Turks and Tartars, having ordered regular entrenchments to be thrown up for that purpoſe. After ſome heſitation, occaſioned by the uncommon nature of the ſervice, the word of command was given. The Turks marched up to the Swediſh fortifications, the Tartars being already waiting for them, and the cannon began to play. The little camp was inſtantly forced, and the whole three hundred Swedes made priſoners.

CHARLES, who was then on horſeback, between the camp and his houſe, took refuge in the latter, attended by a few general officers and domeſtics. With theſe, he fired from the windows upon the Turks and Tartars; killed about two hundred of them, and bravely maintained his poſt, till the houſe was all in flames, and one half of the room fell in. In this extremity, a centinel, named Roſen, had the preſence of mind to obſerve, that the chancery houſe, which was only about fifty yards diſtant, had a ſtone roof, and was proof againſt fire; that they ought to ſally forth, take poſſeſſion of that houſe, and defend themſelves to the laſt extremity. "There is a true Swede!" cried Charles, ruſhing out, like a madman, at the head of a few deſperadoes. The Turks at firſt recoiled, from reſpect to the perſon of the king; but ſuddenly recollecting their orders, they ſurrounded the Swedes, and Charles was made priſoner together with all his attendants. Being in boots as uſual, he entangled himſelf with his ſpurs, and fell. A number of janizaries ſprung upon him. He threw his ſword up into the air, to ſave himſelf the mortification of ſurrendering it; and ſome of the janizaries taking hold of his legs,

and

and others of his arms, he was carried in that manner, to the baſhaw's quarters [13]. LETTER XXV. A.D. 1713.

THE baſhaw gave Charles his own apartment, and ordered him to be ſerved as a king, but not without taking the precaution to plant a guard of janizaries at the chamber door. Next day, he was conducted toward Adrianople, as a priſoner, in a chariot covered with ſcarlet. On his way, he was informed by the baron Fabricius, ambaſſador from the duke of Holſtein, that he was not the only Chriſtian monarch that was a priſoner in the hands of the Turks; that his friend Staniſlaus, having come to ſhare his fortunes, had been taken into cuſtody, and was only a few miles diſtant, under a guard of ſoldiers, who were conducting him to Bender. "Run to him, my dear "Fabricius!" cried Charles;—"deſire him never to "make peace with Auguſtus, and aſſure him that our "affairs will ſoon take a more flattering turn." Fabricius haſtened to execute his commiſſion, attended by a janizary; having firſt obtained leave from the baſhaw, who in perſon commanded the guard.

So entirely was the king of Sweden wedded to his own opinions, that although abandoned by all the world, ſtript of great part of his dominions, a fugitive among the Turks, whoſe liberality he had abuſed, and now led captive, without knowing whither he was to be carried, he ſtill reckoned on the favours of fortune, and hoped the Ottoman court would ſend him home at the head of an hundred thouſand men!—This idea continued to occupy him during the whole time of his confinement. He was at firſt committed to the caſtle of Demirtaſh, in the neighbourhood of

13. Voltaire, ubi ſup.

Adrianople;

PART II. Adrianople; but afterward allowed to reſide at Demotica, a little town about ſix leagues diſtant from that city, and near the famous river Hebrus, now now called Merizza. There he renewed his intrigues; and a French adventurer, counterfeiting madneſs, had the boldneſs to preſent, in his name, a memorial to the Grand Seignior. In that memorial the imaginary wrongs of Charles were ſet forth in the ſtrongeſt terms, and the miniſters of the Porte accuſed of extorting from the Sultan an order, in direct violation of the laws of nations, as well as of the hoſpitality of a Muſſulman—an order in itſelf utterly unworthy of a great emperor, to attack, with twenty thouſand men, a ſovereign who had none but his domeſtics to defend him, and who relied upon the ſacred word of the ſublime Achmet.

A.D. 1713.

In conſequence of this intrigue, as was ſuppoſed, a ſudden change took place in the ſeraglio. The Mufti was depoſed; the Khan of Tartary, who depends upon the Grand Seignior, was baniſhed to Rhodes, and the baſhaw of Bender confined in one of the iſlands of the Archipelago. One vizier was diſgraced, and another ſtrangled. But theſe changes, in the miniſtry of the Porte, produced none in the condition of the king of Sweden, who ſtill remained a priſoner at Demotica; and, leſt the Turks ſhould not pay him the reſpect due to his royal perſon, or oblige him to condeſcend to any thing beneath his dignity, he reſolved to keep his bed, during his captivity, under pretence of ſickneſs. This reſolution he kept for ten months [14].

14. *Hiſt. Ch. XII.* liv. vii.

WHILE

WHILE the naturally active and indefatigable Charles, who held in contempt all effeminate indulgences, and had ſet even the elements themſelves at defiance, was waſting, from caprice, his time and his conſtitution in bed, or harraſſing his mind with fruitleſs intrigues, the northern princes, who had formerly trembled at his name, and whom he might ſtill, by a different conduct, have made tremble, were diſmembering his dominions. General Steenbock, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by driving the Danes out of Schonen, and defeating their beſt troops, with an inferior number of Swediſh militia, defended Pomerania, Bremen, and all his maſter's poſſeſſions in Germany, as long as poſſible. But he could not prevent the combined army of Danes and Saxons, from beſieging Stade; a place of great ſtrength and importance, ſituated on the banks of the Elbe, in the duchy of Bremen. The town was bombarded and reduced to aſhes, and the garriſon obliged to ſurrender, before Steenbock could come to their aſſiſtance.

THE Swediſh general however, with twelve thouſand men, purſued the enemy, though twice his number, and overtook them at a place called Gadeſbuſh in the duchy of Mecklenburg, in December 1712. He was ſeparated from them, when he firſt came in ſight, by a moraſs. The Danes and Saxons, who did not decline the combat, were ſo poſted as to have this moraſs in front, and a wood in their rear. They had the advantage of numbers and ſituation; yet Steenbock, notwithſtanding theſe adverſe circumſtances, paſſed the moraſs at the head of his troops, and began one of the moſt furious and bloody battles that ever happened between the rival nations of the North. After a deſperate conflict of three hours the Danes and

Saxons

PART II. A. D. 1713. Saxons were totally routed, and driven off the field with great ſlaughter.

But Steenbock ſtained the honour of his victory, by burning the flouriſhing, though defenceleſs, town of Altena, belonging to the king of Denmark. In conſequence of that ſeverity, many thouſands of the inhabitants periſhed of hunger and cold. All Germany exclaimed againſt ſo ſhocking an inſult on humanity; and the miniſters of Poland and Denmark wrote to the Swediſh general, reproaching him with an act of cruelty committed without neceſſity, and which could not fail to awaken the vengeance of heaven and earth againſt him. The enlightened, but unfeeling Goth replied, That he never would have exerciſed ſuch rigour, had it not been with a view to teach the enemies of Sweden to reſpect the laws of nations, and not to make war, for the future, like barbarians. They had not only, he obſerved, laid waſte the beautiful province of Pomerania, but ſold near an hundred thouſand of its inhabitants to the Turks; and the torches which had laid Altena in aſhes, he affirmed, were no more than a juſt retaliation for the red-hot bullets, which had wrapt in flames the more valuable city of Stade [25].

Had the king of Sweden appeared in Pomerania, while his ſubjects carried on the war with ſuch implacable reſentment, and even with ſucceſs, againſt their numerous enemies, he might perhaps have retrieved his ruined fortune. His troops, though ſo widely ſeparated from his perſon, were ſtill animated by his ſpirit. But the abſence of a prince is always prejudicial to his affairs, and more eſpecially prevents his generals from making a proper uſe of their victories.

25. Id. ibid.

Strenbock

Steenbock loſt, almoſt inſtantly, the fruits of his valour and conduct; which, at a happier criſis, would have been permanent conqueſts. Though victorious, he could not prevent the junction of the Ruſſians, Danes, and Saxons, who obliged him to ſeek an aſylum for himſelf and his gallant army in Toningen, a fortreſs in the duchy of Holſtein. LETTER XXIV. A.D. 1713.

THAT duchy was then ſubjected to the moſt cruel ravages of any part of the North. The young duke of Holſtein, nephew of Charles XII. and preſumptive heir to the crown of Sweden, was the natural enemy of the king of Denmark, who had endeavoured to ſtrip his father of his dominions, and to cruſh himſelf in the very cradle. The biſhop of Lubeck, one of his father's brothers, and adminiſtrator of the dominions of this unfortunate ward, now beheld himſelf in a very critical ſituation. His own territories were already exhauſted by continual contributions; the Swediſh army claimed his protection; and the forces of Ruſſia, Denmark, and Saxony, threatened the duchy of Holſtein with immediate deſolation. But that danger was ſeemingly removed by the addreſs of the famous baron de Goertz, who wholly governed the biſhop, and was the moſt artful and enterpriſing man of his time; endowed with a genius amazingly penetrating, and fruitful in every reſource.

GOERTZ had a private conference with general Steenbock, at which he promiſed to deliver up to him the fortreſs of Toningen, without expoſing the biſhop-adminiſtrator, his maſter, to any inconvenience: and he gave, at the ſame time, the ſtrongeſt aſſurances to the king of Denmark, that he would defend the place to the utmoſt. The governor accordingly refuſed to open

PART II. A. D. 1713.

open the gates; but the Swedes were admitted partly within the walls, and partly under the cannon of the town, in conſequence of a pretended order from the young duke, who was yet a minor. This indulgence however, procured by ſo much ingenious deceit, proved of little uſe to the brave Steenbock, who was ſoon obliged to ſurrender himſelf priſoner of war, together with his whole army [15].

THE territories of Holſtein now remained at the mercy of the incenſed conquerors. The young duke became the object of the king of Denmark's vengeance, and was doomed to pay for the abuſe which Goertz had made of his name. Finding his original project thus rendered abortive, the baron formed a ſcheme for eſtabliſhing a neutrality in the Swediſh provinces in Germany. With this view, he privately entered into a negociation, and at the ſame time, with the ſeveral princes, who had ſet up claims to any part of the territories of Charles XII. all which, the kingdom of Sweden excepted, were ready to become the property of thoſe who wanted to ſhare them. Night and day he continued paſſing from one province to another. He engaged the governor of Bremen and Verden to put thoſe two duchies into the hands of the elector of Hanover, by way of ſequeſtration, in order to prevent the Danes from taking poſſeſſion of them for themſelves; and he prevailed with the king of Pruſſia to accept, in conjunction with the duke of Holſtein, of the ſequeſtration of Stetin, which was in danger of falling a prey to the Ruſſians [16].

15. *Hiſt. of the Ruſſian Emp.* part ii. chap. iv. 16. Id. ibid. *Mem. de Brandenburg*, tom. ii.

IN

LETTER XXV.

In the mean time the Czar was pushing his conquests in Finland. Having made a descent at Elsingford, the most southern part of that cold and barren region, he ordered a feigned attack to be made on one side of the harbour, while he landed his troops on the other, and took possession of the town. He afterward made himself master of Abo, Borgo, and the whole coast; defeated the Swedes near Tavestius, a post which commanded the Gulf of Bothnia; penetrated as far as Vaza, and reduced every fortress in the country. Nor were the conquests of Peter confined to the land. He gained a complete victory over the Swedes by sea, and made himself master of the isle of Oeland.

A. D. 1713.

A. D. 1714.

These successes, but more especially his naval victory, furnished the Czar with a new occasion of triumph. He entered Petersburg, as he formerly had Moscow, in procession, under a magnificent arch, decorated with the insignia of his conquests. After that pompous ceremony, which filled every heart with joy, and inspired every mind with emulation, Peter delivered a speech worthy of the founder of a great empire. "Countrymen and "friends," said he, "is there one among you who "could have thought, twenty years ago, that he "should fight under me upon the Baltick, in ships "built by ourselves? or that we should establish "settlements in those countries now conquered by "our valour and perseverance?—Greece is said to "have been the birth-place of the arts and sciences. "They afterward took up their abode in Italy; "whence they have spread themselves, at different "times, over every part of Europe. It is at last "our turn to call them ours, if you will second my "designs,

PART II. A.D. 1714.

" designs, by joining ſtudy to obedience. The arts " and ſciences circulate through this globe, like " the blood in the human body; and perhaps they " may eſtabliſh their empire among us, in their " return back to Greece, their native country. I " dare even venture to flatter myſelf, that we will " one day put the nations moſt highly civilized to " the bluſh, by our poliſhed manners and illuſtrious " labours [17]."

DURING theſe important tranſactions, ſo fatal to the power and the glory of Sweden, Charles continued to keep his bed at Dometica. Meanwhile the regency of Stockholm, driven to deſpair by the deſperate ſituation of their affairs, and the abſence of their ſovereign, who ſeemed to have utterly abandoned his dominions, had come to a reſolution no more to conſult him in regard to their proceedings. And the ſenate went in a body to the princeſs Ulrica Eleonora, the king's ſiſter, and entreated her to take the government into her own hands, until the return of her brother. She agreed to the propoſal; but finding that their purpoſe was to force her to make peace with Ruſſia and Denmark, a meaſure to which ſhe knew her brother would never conſent, on diſadvantageous terms, ſhe reſigned the regency, and wrote a full and circumſtantial account of the whole matter to the king.

ROUSED from his affected ſickneſs, by what he conſidered as a treaſonable attempt upon his authority, and now deſpairing of being able to arm the Porte in his favour, Charles ſignified to the Grand Vizier his deſire of returning, through Germany, to

[17] *Hiſt. of the Ruſſian Emp.* part II. chap. v.

his

his own dominions. The Turkiſh miniſter neglected nothing which might facilitate that event. In the mean time the king of Sweden, whoſe principles were perfectly deſpotic, wrote to the ſenate, that if they pretended to aſſume the reins of government, he would ſend them one of his boots, from which they ſhould receive their orders!—And all things being prepared for his departure, he ſet out with a convoy conſiſting of ſixty loaded waggons, and three hundred horſe. LETTER XXV. A.D. 1714.

On his approach to the frontiers of Germany, the Swediſh monarch had the ſatisfaction to learn, that the emperor had given orders he ſhould be received, in every part of the imperial dominions, with the reſpect due to his rank. But Charles had no inclination to bear the fatigue of ſo much pomp and ceremony. He therefore took leave of his Turkiſh convoy, as ſoon as he arrived at Targowitz, on the confines of Tranſilvania; and aſſembling his attendants, deſired them to give themſelves no farther concern about him, but to proceed with all expedition to Stralſund in Pomerania. The king himſelf, in diſguiſe, attended only by two officers, arrived at that place, after making the tour of Germany. And, without conſidering the wretched ſtate of his affairs, he immediately diſpatched orders to all his generals, to renew the war with freſh vigour [17]. Nov. 11.

THE approach of winter, however, prevented any military operations being proſecuted until the ſpring.

17. *Hiſt. of Charles XII.* liv. vii. "Theſe particulars," ſays Voltaire, "which are ſo conſiſtent with the character of Charles XII. were "firſt communicated to me by M. Fabricius, and afterward confirmed "to me by count Croiſſy, ambaſſador from the regent of France to the "king of Sweden." Id. ibid.

PART II. A. D. 1715.

Meanwhile the king of Sweden was employed in recruiting his armies; and, in order to ſtrengthen his intereſt, he gave his only ſurviving ſiſter, Ulrica Eleonora, in marriage to Frederic prince of Heſſe Caſſel, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the imperial ſervice in the Low Countries, and was eſteemed a good general. But Charles, on the opening of the campaign, was ſurrounded by ſuch a multitude of enemies, that valour or conduct, without a greater force, could be of little ſervice. The German troops of the elector of Hanover, now king of Great Britain, together with thoſe of Denmark, inveſted the ſtrong town of Wiſmar, while the combined army of Pruſſians, Danes, and Saxons, marched toward Stralſund, to form the ſiege of that important place. The Czar was at the ſame time in the Baltic, with twenty ſhips of war, and an hundred and fifty tranſports, carrying thirty thouſand men. He threatened a deſcent upon Sweden; and all that kingdom was in arms, expecting every moment an invaſion.

STRALSUND, the ſtrongeſt place in Pomerania, is ſituated between the Baltic Sea and the lake of Franken, near the Straits of Gella. It is inacceſſible by land, unleſs by a narrow cauſeway, guarded by a citadel, and by other fortifications which were thought impregnable. It was defended by a body of twelve thouſand men, commanded by Charles XII. in perſon, and beſieged by the kings of Pruſſia and Denmark, aſſiſted by the gallant prince of Anhalt, with an army three times the number of the Swedes. The allies were animated by a love of glory and of conqueſt; the Swedes by deſpair, and the preſence of their warlike king. Unfortunately, however, for the latter, it was diſcovered that the ſea, which, on one ſide,

ſide, ſecured the Swediſh entrenchments, was at times fordable. LETTER XXV. A. D. 1715.

In conſequence of this diſcovery, the Swedes were unexpectedly attacked by night. While one body of the beſiegers advanced upon the cauſeway that led to the citadel, another entered the ebbing tide, and penetrated by the ſhore into the Swediſh camp, before their approach was ſo much as ſuſpected. The Swedes thus ſurpriſed, and aſſailed both in flank and rear, were incapable of reſiſtance. After a terrible ſlaughter, they were obliged to abandon their entrenchments; to evacuate the citadel, and take refuge in the town, againſt which their own cannon were now pointed by the enemy, who henceforth puſhed the ſiege with unremitting vigour[18].

In order to deprive the king of Sweden and his little army of all ſuccours, or of even the poſſibility of eſcape, the allies had begun their operations with chaſing the Swediſh fleet from the coaſts of Pomerania, and taking poſſeſſion of the iſle of Uſedom, which made a gallant defence. They now reſolved to make themſelves maſters of the iſle of Rugen, oppoſite Stralſund, and which ſerves as a bulwark to the place. Though ſenſible of the importance of Rugen, and of the deſigns of the enemy, Charles was not able to place in it a ſufficient garriſon. Twenty thouſand men, under the prince of Anhalt, were landed in that iſland, without any loſs. The king of Sweden haſtened to its relief, the ſame day, with four thouſand choice troops.

Putting himſelf at the head of this ſmall body, and obſerving the moſt profound ſilence, Charles ad- Nov. 15,

18. *Hiſt. Ch. XII.* liv. viii. *Mem. de Brandenburg*, tom. ii.

PART II. A. D. 1715.

vanced at midnight against the invaders. But he did not find them unprepared. The prince of Anhalt, aware what incredible things the unfortunate monarch was capable of attempting, had ordered a deep foſſe to be ſunk as ſoon as he landed, and fortified it with chevaux de frize. The king of Sweden, who marched on foot, ſword in hand, was not therefore a little ſurpriſed, when, plucking up ſome of the chevaux de frize, he diſcovered a ditch. He was not, however, diſconcerted. Having inſtantly formed his reſolution, he leaped into the foſſe, accompanied by the boldeſt of his men, and attempted to force the enemy's camp.

THE impetuoſity of the aſſault threw the Danes and Pruſſians at firſt into ſome confuſion. But the conteſt was unequal. After an attack of twenty minutes, the Swedes were repulſed, and obliged to repaſs the foſſe. The prince of Anhalt purſued them into the plain. There the battle was renewed with incredible fury, and victory obſtinately diſputed; until Charles had ſeen his ſecretary, Grothuſen, fall dead at his feet; the generals, Dardoff and Daring, killed in his ſight, and the greater part of his brave troops cut to pieces. He himſelf was wounded; and being put on horſeback by Poniatowſky, who had ſaved his life at Pultowa, and ſhared his misfortunes in Turkey, he was obliged to make the beſt of his way to the ſea-coaſt, and abandon Rugen to its fate [19].

STRALSUND was now reduced to the laſt extremity. The beſiegers were arrived at the counterſcarpe, and had already begun to throw a gallery over

19. Id. ibid.

the

the principal ditch. The bombs fell as thick as hail upon the houſes, and half the town was reduced to aſhes. Charles, however, ſtill preſerved his firmneſs of mind. One day, as he was dictating ſome letters, a bomb burſting in the neighbourhood of his apartment, his ſecretary dropt his pen. "What is the "matter?" ſaid the king, with a degree of chagrin, as if aſhamed that any one belonging to him ſhould be capable of fear. "The bomb!" ſighed the intimidated ſcribe, unable to utter another word. "Write on!" cried Charles, with an air of indifference; "what relation has the bomb to the letter "that I am dictating?" But he was ſoon obliged to admit leſs heroic ideas. After two deſperate attacks, during which the king of Sweden fought among his grenadiers, like a private man, the beſiegers made themſelves maſters of the horn-work. The grand aſſault was every moment expected, and Charles was determined to ſuſtain it; but the danger of falling into the hands of his enemies, and being a ſecond time made priſoner from his obſtinacy, induced him to liſten to the entreaties of his friends, and quit a place which he was no longer able to defend. He accordingly embarked in a ſmall veſſel, that was fortunately in the harbour; and, by favour of the night, paſſing ſafely through the Daniſh fleet, reached one of his own ſhips, which landed him in Sweden[20]. Stralſund ſurrendered next day. LETTER XXV. A.D. 1715. Dec. 27.

THE king of Sweden not chuſing to viſit his capital, in his preſent unfortunate circumſtances, paſſed the winter at Carelſcoon; from which he had ſet out,

20. *Hiſt. Ch. XII.* liv. viii. *Mem. de Brandenburg*, tom. ii.

PART II. A. D. 1715. in a very different condition, about fifteen years before, animated with all the high hopes of a youthful hero, ready to give law to the North, and who flattered himſelf with nothing leſs than the conqueſt of the world. Thoſe hopes ought now to have been moderated. But Charles had not yet learned to profit by adverſity. And, unhappily for his ſubjects, he found, in his diſtreſs, a miniſter who encouraged his moſt extravagant projects, and even ſuggeſted new ſchemes of ambition. This was the baron de Goertz, whom I have already had occaſion to mention, and who, from a congeniality of ideas, became the particular favourite of the king of Sweden, after his return to his own dominions. To ſuch a king and ſuch a miniſter, nothing ſeemed impoſſible. When all Europe expected that Sweden would be invaded, and even over-run by her numberleſs enemies, Charles A. D. 1716. March. paſſed over into Norway, and made himſelf maſter of Chriſtiana. But the obſtinate defence of the citadel of Frederickſhall, the want of proviſions, and the approach of a Daniſh army, obliged him to abandon his conqueſt.

MEANWHILE Wiſmar, the only town that remained to Charles on the frontiers of Germany, had ſurrendered to the Danes and Pruſſians; who, jealous of the Ruſſians, would not allow them ſo much as to be preſent at the ſiege. Of this jealouſy, which alienated the Czar's mind from the cauſe of the confederates, and perhaps prevented the ruin of Sweden, Goertz took advantage. He ventured to adviſe his maſter to purchaſe a peace from Ruſſia at any price; intimating, that the forces of Charles and Peter, when united, would be able to ſtrike terror into all Europe. Nor did he conceal the ſacrifices neceſſary to be made, in order to procure ſuch an union. He declared

LETTER XXV.

clared that, disgusted as the Czar was with his allies, there would be a necessity of giving up to him many of the provinces to the east and north of the Baltic. And he entreated the king to consider, that, by relinquishing those provinces, already in the possession of Peter, and which he himself was in no condition to recover, he might lay the foundation of his future greatness[21]. Pleased with this mighty project, without building upon it, Charles furnished his minister with full power to treat with the Czar, or any other prince with whom he should think proper to negociate. A. D. 1716.

Goertz accordingly, by himself or his agents, secretly entered into negociations, which he conducted at the same time, with the heads of the English Jacobites, and with the courts of Petersburg and Madrid. Alberoni, the Spanish minister, a man of the most boundless ambition, and in genius not inferior to the northern statesman, had resolved to place the Pretender on the throne of Great Britain; and the duke of Ormond, whose zeal knew no bounds, projected a marriage between that prince and Anna Petrowna, daughter of the Czar. In consequence of these intrigues, count Gillemburg, the Swedish ambassador at the court of London, was taken into custody, and Goertz in Holland. They were set at liberty, however, after an imprisonment of six months, and Goertz renewed his negociations with the court of Russia. Peter proceeded cautiously; but conferences were, at last, appointed to be held in the island of Oeland. And every thing seemed to promise the conclusion of a treaty, which would probably have changed the face of affairs in Europe, A. D. 1717.

21. Id. ibid.

PART II. A. D. 1717. when an unexpected event, fortunately for the repose of mankind, rendered abortive all the labours of the baron de Goertz.

A. D. 1718. October. THIS was the death of the king of Sweden. Having undertaken a second expedition into Norway, instead of attempting to recover any of his fertile German provinces, he sat down before Frederickshall in the month of December, when the ground was as hard as iron, and the cold so intense, that the soldiers on duty frequently dropt down dead. In order to animate them, he exposed himself to all the rigour of the climate, as well as to the dangers of the siege; sleeping even in the open air, covered only with his cloak! One night, as he was viewing them carrying on their approaches by star-light, he was killed by an half pound ball, from a cannon loaded with grape shot. Though he expired, without a groan, the moment he received the blow, he had instinctively grasped the hilt of his sword, and was found with his hand in that position, so truly characteristic of his mind[22]!

No prince perhaps ever had fewer weaknesses, or possessed so many eminent, with so few amiable qualities as Charles XII. of Sweden. Rigidly just, but void of lenity; romanticly brave, but blind to consequences; profusely generous, without knowing how to oblige; temperate, without delicacy; and chaste, without acquiring the praise of continence, because he seems to have been insensible to the charms of the sex; a stranger to the pleasures of society, and but slightly acquainted with books; a Goth in his manners, and a savage in his resent-

22. *Hist. Ch. XII.* liv. viii.

ments;

ments; reſolute even to obſtinacy, inexorable in vengeance, and inacceſſible to ſympathy, he has little to conciliate our love or eſteem. But his wonderful intrepidity and perſeverance in enterpriſe, his firmneſs under misfortune, his contempt of danger, and his enthuſiaſtic paſſion for glory, will ever command our admiration.

LETTER XXV.

A. D. 1718.

THE death of Charles was conſidered as a ſignal for a general ceſſation of arms. The prince of Heſſe, who commanded under the king, immediately raiſed the ſiege of Frederickſhall, and led back the Swedes to their own country. Nor did the Danes attempt to moleſt them on their march [23].

THE firſt act of the ſenate of Sweden, after being informed of the fate of their ſovereign, was to order the baron de Goertz to be arreſted; and a new crime was invented for his deſtruction. He was accuſed of having "*ſlanderouſly* miſrepreſented the "nation to the king!" He had at leaſt encouraged the king in his ambitious projects, which had brought the nation to the verge of ruin. He had invented a number of oppreſſive taxes, in order to ſupport thoſe projects; and, when every other reſource failed, he had adviſed his maſter, to give to copper money the value of ſilver! an expedient productive of more miſery than all the former. In reſentment of theſe injuries, Goertz, though found guilty of no legal crime, was condemned to

23. *Mem. de Brandenburg*, tom. ii. This appearance of harmony has led to a general belief, that the king of Sweden fell a ſacrifice to the ſufferings of his own ſubjects, and the fears of his enemies. He is ſaid to have been ſhot with a blunderbuſs, by one of the officers of his army. But no proof of ſuch treaſon hath ever been produced; nor have any circumſtances been offered that can intitle it to hiſtorical credibility.

loſe

PART II. A.D. 1718. lose his head, and executed at the foot of the common gallows[24].

THE Swedes having thus gratified their vengeance, at the expence of the reputation of a king, whose memory they still adore, proceeded to the regulation of their government. By a free and voluntary A.D. 1719. choice, the states of the kingdom elected Ulrica Eleanora, sister of Charles XII. for their queen. But they obliged her, by a solemn act, to renounce all hereditary right to the crown, that she might hold it entirely by the suffrage of the people; while she bound herself, by the most sacred oaths, never to attempt the re-establishment of arbitrary power. And sacrificing, soon after, the love of royalty to conjugal affection, she relinquished the crown to her husband, the prince of Hesse, who was chosen by the states, and mounted the throne on the same conditions with his royal consort.

THE new government was no sooner established than the Swedes turned their views toward peace. It was accordingly brought about by different trea- A.D. 1720. ties. One with the king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover, to whom the queen of Sweden agreed to cede the duchies of Bremen and Verden, in consideration of a million of rix-dollars; another with the king of Prussia, who restored Stralsund and the isle of Rugen, and kept Stetin, with the isles of Usedom and Wollin; and a third with the king of Denmark, who retained part of the duchy of Sleswick, conquered from the duke of Holstein, and gave up Wismar, on condition that the fortifications should not be rebuilt[25]. The war with Russia still con-

24. *Hist. Ch. XII.* liv. viii. 25. *Contin.* Puffend. lib. vii.

tinued; but an Engliſh ſquadron being ſent to the aſſiſtance of Sweden, the Czar thought proper to recall his fleet, after committing the moſt terrible depredations on the coaſts of that kingdom. New negociations were opened at Nyſtadt; where a treaty of peace was, at laſt, concluded between the hoſtile crowns, by which the Czar was left in poſſeſſion of the provinces of Livonia, Eſtonia, and Ingria, with part of Carelia and part of Finland[26]. LETTER XXV. A. D. 1721

PETER henceforth took the title of Emperor, which was ſoon formally acknowledged by all the European powers. He had now reached the higheſt point of human greatneſs; but he was yet to receive an increaſe of glory. Perſia being at that time, as almoſt ever ſince, diſtracted by civil wars, he A. D. 1722. marched to the aſſiſtance of the lawful prince, Sha Thamas, (whoſe father had been murdered and his throne ſeized by an uſurper) every where carrying terror before him. And in return for this ſeaſonable ſupport, as well as to procure his future protection, the new Sophy put him in poſſeſſion of three provinces, bordering on the Caſpian ſea, which compoſed the greater part of the ancient kigdom of the Medes. A. D. 1723.

BUT although this extraordinary man deſerves much praiſe as a warrior, and was highly ſucceſsful as a conqueror, extending his dominions from the moſt ſouthern limits of the Caſpian, to the bottom of the Baltic Sea; though great in a military, he was ſtill greater in a civil capacity. As he had viſited England and Holland, in the early part of his reign, to acquire a knowledge of the uſeful arts, he made a

26. Treaty in Voltaire's *Hiſt. of the Ruſſian Emp.* vol. ii.

journey

PART II. A. D. 1723.

journey into France, in 1717, in order to become acquainted with thoſe which are more immediately connected with elegance. A number of ingenious artiſts, in every branch, allured by the proſpect of advantage, followed him from France, to ſettle in Ruſſia. And, on his return to Peterſburg, he eſtabliſhed a board of trade, compoſed partly of natives and partly of foreigners, in order that juſtice might be impartially adminiſtered to all. One Frenchman began a manufactory of plate-glaſs, for mirrors; another ſet up a loom, for working rich tapeſtry, after the manner of the Gobelins; and a third ſucceeded in the making of gold and ſilver lace; linen cloth was made at Moſcow, equal in fineneſs to that of the Low Countries; and the ſilks of Perſia were manufactured at Peterſburg in as great perfection as at Iſpahan[27].

Nor was the attention of Peter, in a civil line, confined merely to arts and manufactures. He extended his views to all the departments of government, and to every beneficial improvement. A lieutenant-general of police, deſtined to preſerve order from one end of the empire to the other, was now appointed. In conſequence of this ſalutary inſtitution, the large towns were freed from the nuiſance of public beggars; an uniformity of weights and meaſures was eſtabliſhed, and proviſion made for the education of youth. The ſame wiſe policy regulated and new-modelled the courts of law, while it corrected the abuſes in religion. The great canal, which joins the Caſpian ſea to the Baltic, by means of the Wolga, was finiſhed; and engineers were ſent to make the tour of the Ruſſian empire, in order to furniſh exact charts of

27. Voltaire, *Hiſt. of the Ruſſian Emp.* vol. ii.

it,

it, that mankind might be made acquainted with the immenſity of its extent.

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But Peter, after all his noble inſtitutions, and his liberal attempts to civilize his people, was himſelf no better than an enlightened barbarian. Inventive, bold, active, and indefatigable, he was formed for ſucceeding in the moſt difficult undertakings, and for conceiving the moſt magnificent deſigns; but unfeeling, impatient, furious under the influence of paſſion, and a ſlave to his own arbitrary will, he was ſhamefully prodigal of the lives of his ſubjects, and never endeavoured to combine their eaſe or happineſs with his glory and perſonal greatneſs. He ſeemed to conſider them as made ſolely for his, not he for their aggrandiſement. His ſavage ferocity and deſpotic rigour turned itſelf even againſt his own blood. Alexis, his only ſon by his firſt wife, having led an abandoned courſe of life, and diſcovered an inclination to obſtruct his favourite plan of civilization, he made him ſign, in 1718, a ſolemn renunciation of his right to the crown. And leſt that deed ſhould not prove ſufficient to exclude the Czarowitz from the ſucceſſion, he aſſembled an extraordinary court, conſiſting of the principal Ruſſian nobility and clergy, who condemned that unhappy, though ſeemingly weak and diſſolute prince, to ſuffer death,—but without preſcribing the manner in which it ſhould be inflicted[28]. The event, however, took place, and ſuddenly.

Alexis was ſeized with ſtrong convulſions, and expired ſoon after the dreadful ſentence was announced to him; but whether in conſequence of the agony

28. Voltaire, ubi ſup.

occaſioned

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occaſioned by ſuch alarming intelligence, or by other means, is uncertain[29]. We only know, that Peter then had, by his beloved Catharine, an infant ſon, who bore his own name, and whom he deſigned for his ſucceſſor; and as the birth of this ſon had probably accelerated the proſecution, and increaſed the ſeverity of the proceedings againſt Alexis, whom his father had before threatened to diſinherit, it is not impoſſible but the friends of Catherine might haſten the death of the ſame prince, in order to ſave the court from the odium of his public execution, and the emperor from the excruciating reflexions that muſt have followed ſuch an awful tranſaction.

A gentleman, however, who was preſent on the occaſion, ſtrongly inſinuates, that Alexis was taken off by a doſe of poiſon, adminiſtered by order of his father[30]. And a writer of high authority[31] affirms, that the Czar, with his own hand, cut off the head of his ſon. But probability, as well as the general character of Peter, forbid us to credit ſuch narratives. After having taken the trouble of bringing to a public trial his diſobedient ſon, whom he could at a ſingle nod have ſo privately diſpatched; after endeavouring to vindicate his conduct to the world, in an elaborate declaration, explaining his motives for ſo doing, the Czar was too wiſe to hazard the infamy of being reputed an aſſaſſin. And had puniſhment, whether public or private, been inflicted on the Czarowitz, by authority, it would have been avowed. The great, the imperious, the

29. Voltaire has taken great pains to clear up this matter; yet, after all, he has left it doubtful. *Hiſt. Ruſſ.* part ii. chap. x.

30. See the *Memoirs* of Peter Henry Bruce, Eſq. publiſhed in 1782.

31. Lamberti.

inexorable

inexorable Peter, would have ſcorned to hide the rigour of his juſtice beneath the veil of an incidental diſtemper, or to fulfil the ſentence of the law by a preparation of poiſon under the name of medicine. He ſurely meant to put a period to the life of Alexis; but he was too magnanimous to execute as a cowardly murderer, what he could command as a ſovereign and a judge. The life of that prince having been declared forfeited, the emperor had only to let fall the ſuſpended blow. He had no new reproach to fear; all Europe being already acquainted with his purpoſe, and held in awful expectation of the event.

THE principal crime of which the ill-fated Alexis was convicted (for he was queſtioned even as to his private thoughts) was that of having *wiſhed* for the death of his father!—If the eldeſt ſons of kings were ALL to be judged by this criterion, few palaces would be free from blood. Another atrocious crime was, his having abſconded and taken ſhelter in the imperial dominions; "raiſing againſt us," ſays Peter, "his father "and his lord, numberleſs calumnies and falſe re-"ports, as if we did perſecute him, and that even his "life was not ſafe, if he continued with us[32]." That the fears of the Czarowitz were well founded ſufficiently appeared, when drawn from this aſylum, on a promiſe of pardon, he was firſt compelled to relinquiſh his right to the ſucceſſion, and afterward condemned to ſuffer death.

IT cannot be improper here to obſerve, That although Peter had long been diſſatisfied with the

32. Czar's *Declaration.*

conduct

PART II. A. D. 1723. conduct of his ſon Alexis, he never threatened to diſinherit him, until he had a near proſpect of iſſue by Catharine; and, as his firſt letter to the Czarowitz containing ſuch threat, is only dated a few days before ſhe was delivered of a ſon, it ſeems very queſtionable, whether it was written before or after that event. Then, indeed, he ſpoke out. "I am determined at "laſt," ſays he, "to ſignify to you my final pur-"poſe; willing, however, to defer the execution of "it for a time, to ſee if you will reform. If not, know "that I am reſolved to deprive you of the ſucceſſion, "as I would lop off an uſeleſs branch."—"We "cannot in conſcience," adds Peter in his Declaration, "leave him after us the ſucceſſion to the throne of "Ruſſia; foreſeeing that, by his vicious courſes, he "would entirely *deſtroy* the *glory* of our *nation*, and the "*ſafety* of our *dominions*, which, through God's provi-"dence, we have *acquired* and *eſtabliſhed* by *inceſſant ap-"plication*, cauſing our people to be *inſtructed* in all "ſorts of *civil* and *military ſciences*." This, if impartially true, might be a ſufficient reaſon for diſinheriting a ſon and heir of empire, but not ſurely for putting him to death. That meaſure could only be dictated by a tyrannical and jealous policy, in order to prevent his diſturbing the government, under the legal ſucceſſor.

THE death of the Czarowitz, whatever might be its cauſe, was ſoon followed by that of young Peter; whom the emperor, on the renunciation of Alexis, had ordered his ſubjects, of all ranks and conditions, to acknowledge as lawful heir to the crown, "by oath "before the holy altar, upon the holy Goſpels, kiſſing "the croſs!" But Catharine continued, nevertheleſs, to maintain her aſcendant over the violent tem-

per, and ungovernable ſpirit of her huſband. That aſcendant was truly extraordinary. One day, in the height of his paſſion, and in order to diſplay the omnipotence of his power, Peter broke a magnificent mirror." "See," ſaid he, "how with one ſtroke of "my hand I can, in a moment, reduce that glaſs to "its original duſt!"—"True," replied Catharine, coolly, "you have deſtroyed the fineſt ornament of "your palace; but will the abſence of that ornament "improve the beauty of the imperial manſion?" The Czar's choler inſtantly ſubſided. The very ſound of her voice was ſufficient to calm his rage, when no other perſon durſt approach him. LETTER XXV. A. D. 1723.

As a prelude to the eventual ſucceſſion of the Czarina, Peter himſelf, after his return from his Perſian expedition, aſſiſted perſonally at her ſolemn coronation. That ceremony, the meaning of which was well underſtood, added great weight to the already reſpectable character of Catherine; ſo that, on the death of the Emperor, in the beginning of the year 1725, ſhe quietly ſucceeded to the throne, and reigned in a manner becoming of the widow of Peter the Great[32]. A. D. 1724.

THE following lines, which are commonly quoted as part of the Czar's epitaph, form a panegyric not unworthy of him:

"Let Antiquity be dumb,
"Nor boaſt her ALEXANDER or her CÆSAR.
"How eaſy was victory
"To Leaders who were followed by Heroes!

32. I am ſenſible that a leſs favourable account of the latter years of Catharine has been given, by ſome late travellers; but the tongue of ſcandal is buſy in every country, and travellers are commonly moſt induſtrious in collecting defamatory anecdotes.

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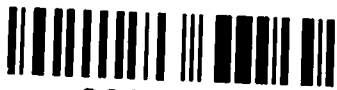
" And whoſe Soldiers felt a noble Diſdain
" At being thought leſs vigilant than their Generals!
" But HE,
" Who *in this Place firſt knew Reſt*,
" Found Subjects baſe and inactive,
" Unwarlike, unlearned, untractable,
" Neither covetous of Fame nor fearleſs of Danger;
" Creatures under the Name of Men,
" But with Qualities rather brutal than rational!
" Yet even Theſe
" He poliſhed from their native Ruggedneſs;
" And breaking out, like a new Sun,
" To illuminate the Minds of a People,
" Diſpelled their Night of hereditary Darkneſs;
" And, by the force of his invincible Influence,
" Taught them to conquer,
" Even the *Conquerors* of *Germany*.
" Other Princes have commanded victorious Armies,
" PETER THE GREAT created them.

THIS panegyric would have been as juſt as it is elegant, had Peter not left the body of his people, as he found them, in a ſtate of the moſt abject ſervitude to the nobles, who are themſelves every moment at the mercy of the capricious will of the ſovereign. Theſe evils, which ſtill in ſome meaſure remain, muſt be effectually eradicated, before the Ruſſian empire can attain to any high degree of population, culture, or general civilization.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.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